Coughlin AND THE Nazis

by John L. Spivak

A DOCUMENTED EXPOSE

FIFTEEN CENTS

December 19, 1939

NEW MASSES

War Against the Soviet

Setting the Stage *by Joseph Starobin*

Nine Years Too Late *by A. B. Magil*

Roosevelt's Part *An Editorial*

CARTOONS BY GROPPER, REDFIELD, RICHTER, JOHNSON

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Reserve Thursday, December 14

NEW MASSES PRESENTS

John L. Spivak

AMERICA'S ACE REPORTER

in his first public appearance in New York. Hear the documented truth first hand from this crack reporter and investigator.

SUBJECT

The inside story of America's Number One Anti-Semite, Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Mich.

HEAR

Spivak's own account of how he tracked down proof of the strange activities of the radio priest. His revelations will be illustrated with original documents from Coughlin's own files and ledgers.

TIME

Thursday evening, December 14, at 8:30. Doors open at 7:30. Come early.

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JOSEPH STAROBIN, who has contributed numerous articles and book reviews to NM, is a special student of foreign affairs.... Isidor Schneider is a former literary editor of NM and the author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity*. . . . Edwin Berry Burgum is an editor of *Science and Society*. . . . David McKelvy White is chairman of the Friends of the Lincoln Brigade. . . . Genevieve Taggard, author of several volumes of verse and the biographer of Emily Dickinson, compiled and edited *May Days*, an anthology of verse from the old *Masses* and the *Liberator*.

Detroit is going to have an anti-Coughlin mass meeting this week. John L. Spivak, George Addes, popular secretary-treasurer of the CIO United Auto Workers, and the Rev. Owen A. Knox, treasurer of the Civil Rights Federation, will head a battery of speakers for the Tuesday, December 19, meeting at Mayfair Auditorium, sponsored by the Civil Rights Federation. Rev. John H. Bollens, chairman of the Federation, stated that the purpose of the meeting will be to "expose the aims and records of these demagogues and to show with factual evidence wherein they threaten our traditional American democracy." Not only Silver Charlie but Gerald L. K. Smith and other fascist leaders will have their secret records read to the public. Tickets for 25, 35, 50, and 75 cents may be obtained at the Federation office, 1001 Hoffman Bldg., Detroit.

A. B. Magil, NM editor, will speak on "The Liberals and the Warmongers" Saturday, December 16, at 2:30 p.m., at Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Pl., N. Y. C. The lecture, which is under the auspices of the Workers School, will discuss the role of such men as Vincent Sheean, Louis Fischer, and H. N. Brailsford and of magazines like the *Nation* and *New Republic*.

Flashbacks

ON Dec. 16, 1773, a group of angry Americans, disguised as Indians, showed their deep resentment against English domination by unloading a cargo of highly taxed tea into Boston Harbor. . . . On Dec. 16, 1918, Seattle longshoremen showed their deep resentment at wars being waged against the workers' republic by refusing to load munitions intended for use against the USSR. This strike movement spread all up and down the West Coast. . . . On Dec. 15, 1791, the first ten amendments to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, became law when Virginia ratified them.

This Week

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXIII DECEMBER 19, 1939 NUMBER 13

War on the Soviet

In the Finnish campaign capitalism sets the guns going against the socialist state. How the stage was set in America and abroad. The admissions of the commercial press.

VISCOUNT HALIFAX admitted last week that Great Britain and France have been responsible for preventing an agreement with the USSR by refusing guarantees against indirect aggression in the Baltic. At first glance, such a revelation may appear academic. Yet it is of first rate importance. Not only does it place the blame for the collapse of collective security where it belongs (where we have always known it belonged), but it tells why things are now happening in Finland. After all, why is it that the British refused to guarantee the Soviet Union against indirect aggression through the Baltic? They said at the time that the governments of the Baltic states had themselves refused to accept a guarantee. But that falls to the ground. For you will remember that guarantees were offered to the USSR against possible aggression through Greece, Rumania, Turkey, and Poland, states which the British and French had themselves guaranteed. None of these governments made public objection to the British dispensation of guarantees for them, though we know that the Poles refused the help of the Red Army. Our conclusion becomes that the British and French desired a loophole in any system of mutual security; they *knew that aggression against the Soviet Union would take place in the Baltic area.* Everyone in Europe knew it, especially the Finns and the Russians. For they remember a history which most Americans never learned, or have long forgotten.

WARTIME DANGER

It stands to reason that if such dangers to Soviet security existed in July, they were aggravated with the outbreak of war. Although the Soviet people succeeded in fundamentally altering relations with one powerful state of Central Europe from whom

"We'll take care of YOU later!" Mischa Richter

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aggression was anticipated, they appreciate quite well that the ultimate battlefields in this war haven't been chosen. That isn't surprising: in the United States every editorialist prays publicly that Mr. Goering may see the error of Mr. Hitler's ways. Miss Dorothy Thompson recently offered her bosom (figuratively speaking) to the sensible Germans if they would only "come back, come back, come home" to "Western civilization"! Mr. Lippmann was admonished in his own newspaper some days ago for sending "shortwave signals" to the Allied General Staffs on just how to win the war. The Soviet people are enigmatically stupid and Oriental. But enigmatically enough, they intercepted Mr. Lippmann's signals about fifteen years ago.

The Soviet people knew where they were vulnerable. Every Russian schoolboy knows the history of that five year period of intervention after the October Revolution. Every Red Army man appreciated why the Finnish and Nazi General Staffs were exchanging officers these past few years. They knew why the Finnish fjords were being surveyed for submarine retreats. They were well aware of what Captain Grenfell, member of Parliament, disclosed in *Labour Monthly* for June 1939: that England "had made secret commitments with Estonia and Finland for the use of airdromes in these countries for British aircraft operating against the USSR . . . the commitments appear to have been in existence for over ten years." Nor did it escape their notice last July that General Kirk, of the British Staff, returned a visit which Baron von Mannerheim had made to London in January. Kirk inspected what were considered the third best fortifications in Europe after the Maginot and Siegfried Lines. Better, it appears, than even the Sudeten fortifications, commonly known to have been worth thirty French divisions.

PACTS

That is why, when their enemies had been temporarily immobilized, the Soviet Union concluded pacts with Estonia and Latvia, the governments of these nations having suddenly overcome their objections to Soviet guarantees. Moving quickly, Molotov invited Finland to a conference at Moscow even before the treaty with Lithuania was signed.

It has been bruited about in the American press that the Russian requests to Finland would compromise the latter's independence. No one seems to have asked the Ests and the Letts and the Liths whether their humble freedom has been compromised by the Soviet naval forces. The interesting thing is that the best minds in Great Britain admitted over a month ago that the Russians were quite justified in their requests to Finland. I quote something less than a Bolshevik sheet, the venerable London *Economist* for November 11:

> The comparative gentleness of that [Soviet] attitude should not be allowed to mask the urgency of the Soviet government's demands upon Finland. They are no mere luxury indulged in by a dictatorship intoxicated by easy conquest. For the sake of its standing with world opinion, the Soviet government would doubtless have preferred to leave Finland alone. But in the circumstances that was impossible. Half a victory in the Baltic would be worse than no victory at all, for with half a victory everything might once again be lost. . . . The only way to protect the newly acquired Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian bases, and indeed, the only way to obtain full value from their acquisition, is by securing a foothold on the opposite coastline.

Taking the London *Economist's* judgment to heart, the Soviet Union negotiated for eight weeks. Convinced that the Finns had no intention of coming to terms, the Soviet Union did what the British knew it desired in July, and recognized as necessary in November.

This merely prefaces my story. A simple rereading of the American press, together with references to the world press, confirms the conviction that the Finns were being deliberately encouraged to resist the Soviet Union at all costs. The American government, in the personality of Franklin D. Roosevelt, had a direct and decisive hand in encouraging that resistance. The imperialist world knew weeks ago that the Finns were stalling. That stalling was maintained with a purpose. At this very moment, when the whole imperialist world is assisting the Finnish armies against the Soviet Union, it is not even Finland they are worried about. They are not defending Finland. They are fighting socialism. Finland is merely the occasion for a public exhibition of the most fundamental instincts of the upper classes of all countries. They are furious because socialist Russia kept its initiative in world politics since August. They are furious because socialist Russia has determined to win the first battle of a war of intervention against it, in the hope of giving its enemies pause before the next battle. Socialist education decidedly improved every human faculty among the Russian people: it gave them an uncanny sense of smell. It sharpened their hearing. It improved their eyesight, indeed gave them foresight. The imperialist monopoly of strategy and initiative has been broken.

Even before the Finnish delegates were seated around the conference table in Moscow, their government displayed its guilty conscience. Populations were evacuated from the towns. The army was mobilized. The waters around the entire Finnish coast were mined. When the Risto Ryti government announced that the Aland Islands were being fortified, the New York *Times* dispatch for December 5 admitted:

> The announcement revealed that Finland secretly had been fortifying the islands dominating the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia . . . despite the fact that a League of Nations ruling giving them to Finland insisted that they remain unfortified.

No sooner did the Finnish delegates arise from their first conference in Moscow but what Bruce Pinter, the New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent, reported from Washington, on October 13:

> It is known here that Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in association with Finland have indicated that they would appreciate participation by the United States in a demarche to Russia urging that no demands be made that would compromise Finland's independence.

On October 14, William Allen White, the patriarch of Emporia, Kan., arrived in New York to attend a "repeal the embargo" meeting. Reading the international barometer at a glance, he remarked:

> The new phase of the war that has entered in the last four or five days, the Russian phase, makes it necessary, it seems to me, that we get rid of our present neutrality law . . . so that Scandinavian countries might buy supplies they need in any military or economic differences with Russia.

William Allen White was merely rephrasing sentiments which were bubbling over elsewhere on our continent. As early as September 19, the Canadian correspondent of *Le Temps,* Paris, disclosed that:

> The Canadian Cabinet held an extraordinary meeting lasting all day and part of the night. A member of the government is understood to have maintained close communication with London. . . . The Russian armies' invasion of Poland has caused a profound sensation in Canada. It is thought in political circles that if England were obliged to declare war on Russia on account of the guarantee she has given Poland, Canada's participation would become a great deal more active and the dispatch of an expeditionary force would be rapidly decided upon.

The October 11 issue of the *Week,* that authoritative London newsletter, sized up British opinion as follows:

> It can definitely be stated that high hopes are being built in London on the idea of persuading Roosevelt that Scandinavia is after all the "bulwark of Western democracy" and represents the "middle way" between fascism and Bolshevism and —on the strength of the alleged Rooseveltian support—gaining support within the British Cabinet for the idea of a vigorous prosecution of the "counter-attack" on the Russian policy in the Baltic. . . . . . the Chamberlainites argue as follows: the establishment of Russian power in the Baltic means that British influence in the Scandinavian countries is at least temporarily eliminated. This means that in the event of a British victory over Germany (that is, assuming that the war goes on at all) Russian power "on the flank" would, or might, be sufficient to prevent any drastic British and French action against any revolutionary regime in Germany.

Roosevelt himself cleared away the doubts. The Finnish delegates had scarcely left the conference table when the President of the United States encouraged them by cautioning the Soviet Union in its relations with Finland. This was of course unwarranted. But it served its purpose. The famous conference of kings at Stockholm was arranged. The Northern monarchs left off their golf and tennis to attend to Finland's business. Presi-

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Roosevelt's Part

AN EDITORIAL

A NEW threat to the peace of the United States has developed in the past two weeks. That threat comes from within. The campaign of anti-Soviet incitement, voluble viewing-with-alarm and radio hysterics, has already made a serious breach in our neutrality. Unless this synthetic emotionalism is quickly curbed, unless our government abandons its gross violations of the spirit of the Neutrality Act, the United States will be stampeded into the most criminal of all conceivable wars—war against socialist Russia. In 1918 the administration of Woodrow Wilson intervened in the internal affairs of that country and sent our soldiers and ships to tell the Russian people with bullets what kind of government they could have. That is one of the blackest pages in our history. Is the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt—who was assistant secretary of the navy under Wilson—going to repeat that crime on an even vaster scale?

This is no mere rhetorical question. Government moves during the past two weeks and, for that matter, throughout the whole period of the Soviet-Finnish negotiations display an aggressive partisanship, a readiness to adopt and act on the propagandistic cliches of the most reactionary elements in American life that must alarm every peace-loving American, no matter what his opinion of Soviet policy may be. American imperialism, which previously sabotaged peace by rejecting all proposals to halt fascist aggression, now sabotages the peace of our own country by taking the lead in efforts to smash the defense measures of the Soviet and organize a bloody crusade against the land of socialism.

The Export-Import Bank and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation are providing $10,000,000 in credits to the reactionary Finnish regime after Wall Street banks, whose sympathy with small nations stops at the dollar line, had declined to throw away their money on the venture. These credits are presumably for the purchase of "agricultural surpluses and other civilian supplies," but a Finnish military purchasing commission now in this country has reason to hope for something more. President Roosevelt has expressed his wish that Congress authorize refunding at least part of the installments Finland has paid on her debt to the United States—a debt incurred in financing the anti-Soviet war of 1918-20. Herbert Hoover, who starved America, has begun raising "relief" funds for the Mannerheim-Ryti regime. Hearst backs Roosevelt with the pronouncement: "The Nordic front is in Finland."

"The American reaction" [to the Finnish issue], cables P. J. Philip from Paris to the New York *Times,* "has been so prompt and unequivocal on the side of justice and decency that it is regarded as marking an important step toward United States intervention, not in European quarrels, but in the establishment of decent governmental morality in the world."

Mr. Philip is a crony of the ineffable M. Bonnet, whose devotion to "decent governmental morality" is of course internationally renowned. In fact, the kind of governmental morality practiced by the high-placed gentlemen who are now raising a hue and cry about "little Finland" can be read in the record. Ask the people of Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland what that record is. Americans have a sense of humor. But consider the Homeric laughter of the Chinese when they read President Roosevelt's denunciation of Soviet "aggression" and his "moral embargo" against the USSR and reflect that more than half of the materials that the Japanese are using to shoot and bomb Chinese men, women, and children come from the United States.

In addition to fighting side by side with such great moralists as Chamberlain—who is sending Finland the planes he denied the Poles—we are being asked to make the world safe for "decent

(Continued on page 19)

dent Kallio flew from Helsinki; the diplomats of all these countries attended. Roosevelt sent the conference an unusually warm greeting. The *Week* for October 18 asserted:

> On the eve of the meeting of kings in Stockholm Wednesday, neutrals and other observers in London were congratulating British diplomacy on what was believed to be possibly the most brilliant and successful counterstroke since the war began.
>
> Private messages from Washington have convinced London observers that British diplomacy both in Scandinavia and the United States has materially shifted the situation. It is believed that Roosevelt has now been persuaded to give the fullest support to British policy in Scandinavia against the "Soviet menace."
>
> On the basis of this information, London and other observers believe now in the possibility of a serious United States commitment with Great Britain for the "defense of democracy" based on Scandinavia.
>
> The British diplomatic counter-attack in the Balkans and the Middle East foreshadowed in the *Week* three weeks ago has developed even more successfully than had been expected. It is possible now to speak of a real "pincer" movement in the North and South from the Dardanelles to the Gulf of Finland.

London was acting upon the same information that prompted the New York *Herald Tribune* to report on October 16:

> Authoritative circles said that Finland's position would occupy the major portion of the conference discussion on Scandinavian defense. Finland's representatives are expected to affirm Finland's desire to remain a member of the Northern neutral bloc which she considers the best safeguard to her vital interests. To remain within this bloc, Finland *must refuse any military alliances* [my italics] or mutual aid pacts which would bind her to give Russia . . . strategic bases on her territory.

The entire pattern of Finnish recalcitrance was fully arranged at Stockholm. Foreign Minister Erkko remained behind to discuss the details with his Scandinavian cronies, whose solidarity, Erkko said, he greatly appreciated. Kallio broadcast to Finland that the Scandinavian countries "had expressed support which is not limited to words, but had also taken expression in action." Newspapers commented that "they felt morally strengthened. Support of President Roosevelt and other American countries was very much appreciated."

Now when people express thanks for moral support, the next important question is: don't they mean more than mere moral support?

RFC LOAN

On October 25, the New York *Herald Tribune* headlined a story from Washington: "FINLAND SEEKS RFC LOAN TO BUY AMERICAN GOODS."

> A loan or credit [the story said] would alleviate some of the strain of Finland's finances. Although it has operated for many years with balanced budgets, the Finnish government in recent weeks has been heavily burdened by defense preparation costs. The disruption of shipping by the war has caused a drop in customs receipts, a main source of Finland's income.

Most people at that moment could not know exactly what the Soviet Union requested of Finland. Premier Molotov had not spoken until five days after. But in Finland itself everyone was certain that his "freedom and independence were threatened." On October 28, a group of Finns sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" under the window of the American Legation in Helsinki. Our minister,

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Schoenfeld, appeared on the balcony and made a little speech. Mr. Toivola, chief of the press department of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, issued a statement which the New York *Herald Tribune* cited: "We feel our freedom and independence threatened," said he. "Again, today, we are conscious of the fact that America and its leading men are giving us their support. A small nation grows in strength when receiving moral support from leading civilized powers, knowing common goals unite them to great ones."

ENCOURAGING FINLAND

After Molotov's speech on October 31, the Scandinavian newspapers unanimously backed Finland's stand, remarking, according to the *Herald Tribune,* "that she could not possibly yield on the Karelian Isthmus, which they said was the third most powerful fortification in Europe after the Maginot and the Limes Lines." The Swedish *Tidnungen* placed the matter squarely: "If the Finns say No! that would not only be to their own interest but also to Sweden, Norway, and the whole of Western Europe as well."

The *Week* for November 2 gives the lowdown on Britain:

Reactions to Molotov's speech indicate that the mood of the Western governments today is considerably more confident than at any time since the outbreak of war. Consequently, there is an increase in the confidence and influence of those groups in, and around, the Western governments which believe that a "war on two fronts" can be carried on simultaneously and successfully. That is to say, that Germany can be defeated without serious concession by the British and French forces anywhere . . . for instance in India. And they believe that an "audacious" and even an adventurous policy can be pursued in Finland without serious risk.

The official appointment of Baron von Mannerheim as the Finnish supreme commander in the event of Finland making war is seen as a major success for those forces outside Finland itself which have been energetically working for the past month to "stiffen" the Finnish government against a possible settlement with Russia.

These forces, of course, include powerful industrial interests on both sides of the Atlantic, and particularly those companies which have considerable quantities of American, Canadian, and British capital in Finland and are therefore seriously perturbed by the possibility of close relations between the Finns and Soviet Russia.

Just to give you an idea of what was being told to the Finnish people, I quote a letter which Capt. Tapani Harmaja, noted ski jumper and aviator, sent to his friend, the aviation editor of the New York *Herald Tribune,* published November 6. The lead of the story said that "American pursuit planes would be of inestimable aid in defending Finland from any Russian air attacks." The noted ski-jumper continues:

I must tell you how immensely grateful all of us are for the outspoken articles *which we have been informed have appeared* [my italics] in the American press. . . . In our not too favorable position as the bulwark of Western civilization against Asiatic barbarism, we deeply feel the immense importance of American public opinion. . . . Our whole gloomy outlook changed when we heard the glad news about the great democracy on the other side of the Atlantic taking an interest in our fate. . . .

Mr. Harmaja was a little off on his anthropology. The Finns, like the Magyars, are a Ural-Altaic people: true Asiatics. But he quite properly expressed gratitude. In the same edition of the *Herald Tribune,* a story from Washington revealed that:

Small neutral European countries, seeking to bolster their defenses against invasion . . . are competing with their warring neighbors for a share of American wartime production. The Finns, according to reliable reports in government headquarters, are planning to order at least two hundred airplanes from American factories.

That was November 6. On November 7, the President of the United States failed to greet the anniversary of the October Revolution. The Soviet Embassy's celebration was pointedly boycotted.

ROOSEVELT'S STORY

But the rumor of practical American assistance to Finland would not be hushed. At his press conference at Hyde Park on November 18, the President was asked about "reports that this nation had promised economic and financial aid to Finland and that this country's attitude toward Russia had stiffened because of that promise."

The President said he could tell nothing about anything like that. To the best of his ability to remember, he said, Finland had applied about two months ago for a loan for some specific purpose, such as building a railroad, and had been referred to New York banks. That nation, he recalled, had a perfect right to borrow money here as, having paid her war debts, she did not come under the Johnson act. [New York *Herald Tribune.*]

Readers will recall with the President that on October 25 Finnish application to the RFC was reported. The President must have known all about it. On December 6, Felix Belair in the New York *Times* wrote that:

The President's plan to make available the December 15 war debt installment for the benefit of Finland *culminated weeks of negotiation* [my italics] during which the administration sought various means of giving aid through the Export-Import Bank. . . .

Add these facts up, together with what the Finns were being informed of and what the *Week* was reporting. On October 25, Finland officially applied for RFC funds. On November 18, Franklin D. Roosevelt said "he could tell nothing about anything like that." On December 6, it appears that his offer to make Finland's war debt available "culminated weeks of negotiation"!

Now consult a release from the State Department made public to the press on November 25, completely buried in the newspapers,

Three Big Lies

THREE big lies are spurring the venal press in connection with Finland. First, the alleged bombings. Second, the notion that no designs on the Soviet Union were ever intended from Finnish soil. Third, the idea that Finland is a peaceful, united, democratic little country, noted for ski-jumping, diademnic lakes, and consumers' cooperatives. These are all untrue; most untruthful is the third. Finnish politics has always been stormy, even after eighteen thousand workers were killed in Mannerheim's war and two invasions upon Soviet Karelia attempted in 1919 and 1921-22. The Communist Party was suppressed, supposedly for an abortive uprising in 1923. It continued legality for seven years under the name Socialist Labor Party. By 1929, it had twenty-three seats in the Diet; that year it polled a vote of 128,164 out of a total of 947,529. This unusual proportion is emphasized when you consider that the Social Democrats polled 260,254; the rest were divided among five other parties.

In the middle of 1929, a fascist movement called "Lapua" developed, subsidized by big industrialists and lumber barons. Uniting with a sort of Finnish Christian Front, the *Suomen Lukko,* this movement swept in from the lake country demanding that the "Reds" be ousted from the unions and factories. Lapua attacked Left newspapers, kidnapped government officials, ran riot over little Finland. Kyosti Kallio, the Agrarian millionaire, was then premier; his Cabinet retreated before the vigilantes without appeasing them. Together with the Social Democrats he was forced out of office when on July 7, 1930, twelve thousand Lapuans marched on Helsinki. President Relander expressed general approval of their actions. General Mannerheim gave them his benediction. The Cabinet was revised to include strong nationalists and extra-parliamentary leaders.

For three years Lapua ran roughshod over the nation. Even Social Democrats and Agrarians got it in the neck. Vaino Hakkila, the Socialist, was kidnapped; Kallio himself was slated for murder but his two assassins got cold feet and killed themselves. The League for the Rights of Man was harassed. Sillenpaa, winner of the 1939 Nobel prize for literature, narrowly escaped assassination. Dead Communists were thrown across the Karelian border; others were found in newly dug graves in Sweden. Boycotts were organized against Soviet goods and marches attempted on the border. The kidnapping of ex-President Stahlberg, Progressive leader occupying a position like the pre-imperialist-war FDR, outraged the country. Lapua claimed "it was striving to strengthen religion and patriotism," that it "was acting as a forepost against the danger upon Western civilization threatening from the East."

Any newspaper editor, any columnist, any defender of Western civilization could get you these facts. Malbone Grahame, professor of political science at the University of California, wrote them up for the Foreign Policy Association, May 27, 1931.

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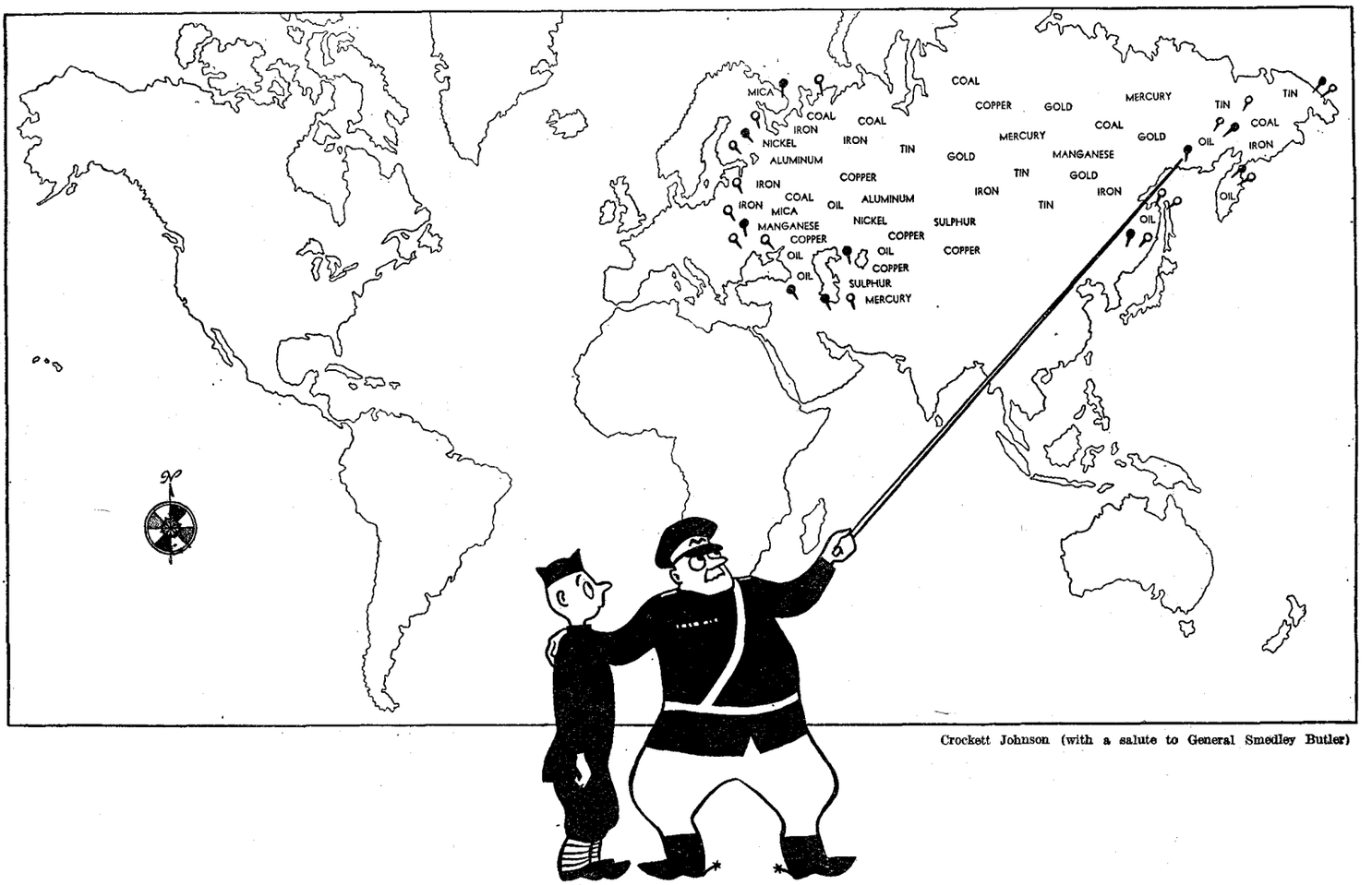

Crockett Johnson (with a salute to General Smedley Butler)

"This is you, Williams, defending your mother in Pennsylvania."

but cited by NEW MASSES in its editorial "Who's Backing Finland?" written five days before the Red Army marched. For the ten months ending with October 1939, Finland was licensed for $1,318,654 worth of arms, aircraft parts, and engines in the United States, $400,000 more than Soviet licenses in the same period. But while the Soviet Union ordered no arms or ammunition in October, Finland's licenses for October alone totaled $849,900. $1,318,654 for ten months of which $849,900 was ordered in the month of October!

Certainly the President must have been aware of these facts, just as he must have known that among the other neutrals who "bulked large" in these purchases were, curiously enough, Sweden and Turkey. Indeed, it is the suggestion of Drew Pearson and Robert Allen, commentators in Washington, that the reason why the President did not invoke the neutrality law when the Red Army marched was to permit the delivery of these unusual purchases. The President has failed to invoke the Neutrality Act since then because he is deliberately employing the incident of Finland *to break down the profound anti-war sentiments among the American people.* Barring no holds when it comes to grappling with socialism, Franklin Delano Roosevelt does not scruple to join with such illustrious wrestlers as Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Mr. Edouard Daladier, Mr. Hermann Goering, Mr. Benito Mussolini, and even the pope.

Anyone who has scanned the press in the past ten days cannot mistake the real issue. Lauri Saarinen, a New York Finnish White Guard, remarked: "In God we trust—and in the possible complication that may bring in some great power." . . . The pope was reported rejecting "the British proposals for the formation of a bloc of powers such as the British empire, France, Spain, the United States and other neutrals wishing to halt Communist expansion." . . . P. J. Philip of the New York *Times,* writing from Paris, says that "Finland's example . . . has cleared up many doubts as to what this war was about, and it has opened up new vistas as to where it will be eventually fought." . . . H. L. Matthews, New York *Times* correspondent in Rome, says that "foreign observers emphasized that this was the first time in several years that Italy had taken a similar attitude on foreign questions, and it was expected that the strong anti-Roosevelt campaign in the fascist press would be toned down or quashed." . . . HUNGARY READY TO FIGHT SOVIETISM," says the *Times,* reporting that "this decision was taken at a secret meeting of the Council of Regency held on Sunday evening. While this is in accord with the traditional anti-Soviet, anti-Bolshevist sentiment of the nation, the issue has now been crystallized on definite lines, drawn for a possible contingency." . . . The Tokyo *Nichi Nichi* says that "the capitalist nations of the world, including Japan, may form a joint front front against the Soviets." . . . Voito Tanner, the Social Democratic foreign minister in the Ryti government, says that "we shall defend ourselves against such a forceful menace and we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the civilized Western world will not find some means which are more powerful than its invaluable sympathy." . . . Kaarlo Kuusamo, the Finnish consul in New York, makes a speech at Fitchburg, Mass., in which he says: "It has been asked how long we shall endure. My answer is that we shall hold out at least until next June, but undoubtedly during that time we shall have assistance."

Baron von Mannerheim stated the issue in a most expressive euphemism: "This war is nothing else except the continuation and the last act of our war for liberation." Meaning his war against the Finnish revolution of 1918, in which eighteen thousand Finnish workers paid with their lives. Meaning, of course, the imperialist intervention against socialist Russia in that period, in which he took the lead. It takes little sophistication to know what Mannerheim means. Fortunately, Stalin and Molotov knew it beforehand. Fortunately also, they moved in time.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

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William Gropper

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Nine Years Too Late

An eye-witness at the first of the Soviet treason trials in 1930 reviews the exposure of imperialist intervention plans for Finland.

SOME people seem incredulous at the idea that "little Finland"—a euphemism for the reactionary Finnish government—would provoke incidents on the Soviet border. Perhaps they would be not quite so skeptical if they had heard, as I did, confessions from men who actually plotted similar provocations on the Soviet-Finnish border.

In November and December 1930 I attended the first of the great treason trials in Moscow as the correspondent of the American leftwing press. The defendants were the eight leaders of the counter-revolutionary Industrial Party, a secret organization of engineers, scientists, and specialists in various fields formed for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet regime. Their chief was Prof. Leonid K. Ramzin, a shrewd, tight-lipped man who had been director of the Thermo-Technical Institute in Moscow and was an internationally known authority in the field of hydroelectric power.

These were men who for the most part had won their professional spurs under the czarist regime, but who, after the Bolshevik Revolution, had professed their loyalty to the Soviet government and entered its employ. They had been trusted and given responsible and even leading posts in various economic bodies including the State Planning Commission and the Supreme Economic Council. Yet, despite the fact that they had opportunities for scientific work such as they had never enjoyed under the czar, this small group of engineers and specialists—they numbered several hundred in all—formed a counter-revolutionary organization and engaged in widespread planned wrecking and sabotage designed to disorganize various branches of Soviet economy and cause the collapse of the First Five-Year Plan. These men worked under the instructions of emigre Russian capitalists and ruling circles in Britain and France. They had direct contacts with the French General Staff and with French agents in Moscow, with whom they worked out detailed plans for an armed attack on the Soviet Union. This was to take place in 1930 and was to coincide with the maximum disorganization of Soviet economy from within.

Germany was not at that time involved in the intervention plans because the Weimar republic maintained friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Only with the accession of Hitler did the German government shift its foreign policy in the direction desired by the British and French reactionaries—until the strength of the USSR forced it to go into reverse again.

On the evening of the sixth day of the trial a feeble, nearsighted old man was led into the beautiful Hall of the Columns in the House of the Trade Unions, where the trial was held. There was an audible gasp from the audience of workers and intellectuals. It was Professor Osadchi, vice-chairman of the State Planning Commission and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet government. He too had been part of the conspiracy and had been made a member of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party only a few months before. Testifying concerning the plans for armed intervention, he said (I quote from the record of the trial issued in English translation by Workers Library Publishers under the title *Wreckers on Trial*):

> France apparently reserved to itself the guidance, instruction, and to some extent the material supply of the interventionist army. Apart from the White Army, two countries were to play an active role: Rumania and Poland. Of the border states *Finland was definitely referred to as a country aggressively inclined against the Soviet Union, and which had apparently great experience in provoking all sorts of frontier incidents, for it was precisely frontier incidents that were taking place all along the frontier in Rumania and Poland. But my impression was that it was mainly in Finland that provocative action was to be taken such as would supply a pretext for intervention.* [My italics—A. B. M.]

"The Eastern Front"

ON the Western Front it is all mummery and no fighting. In a Paris dispatch to the New York *Times* of December 3, P. J. Philip tells why. He writes: "It begins to look more than ever as if the war will not be fought on the Western Front, but that sooner or later an Eastern Front will have become a reality." Philip makes clear just what this means:

> Finland's example of courage has fired all France with new determination to restore the European continent to a decent way of living. It has cleared up many doubts as to what this war was about and it has opened new vistas as to where it will eventually be fought.

Philip also indicates what America's role in the planned anti-Soviet war is to be:

> The American reaction has been so prompt and unequivocal on the side of justice and decency that it is regarded as marking an important step toward United States intervention, not in European quarrels, but in the establishment of decent governmental morality in the world.

Is this what the Roosevelt-Wall Street foreign policy is leading to?

A fine role had been assigned "little Finland"! In 1930 the men on the inside were caught, and let the cat out of the bag.

Let us turn to Ramzin's testimony:

> The first war move in 1930 was supposed to be made by Rumania after the provocation of some frontier incident. After Rumania Poland was to come in, *and then the border states on the Baltic.* Besides this, Wrangel's troops were to move through Rumania and join the southern army of intervention. *England, according to the plan worked out in 1928, was to support the operations on the Black Sea and the Gulf of Finland.* [My italics—A. B. M.]

In a dispatch to the New York *Times* just the other day, G. E. R. Gedye, its Moscow correspondent, wrote: "Considering the great disproportion of the forces involved, it would seem likely that the Finns have had very powerful backing. . . ." Apparently they had the same backing in 1930. Even some of the personalities have not changed. Ramzin, describing a trip he had taken to England, where he discussed intervention plans with the director of the Vickers munitions firm, said: "The preparation of intervention was supported, as was to be expected, by Conservative circles in Great Britain, where, I was told, Churchill was the moving spirit of the idea of intervention." Churchill had likewise been the moving spirit in the first intervention in 1918-21 when he was in the British Cabinet.

It will be recalled that the Japanese attacked the Soviet Siberian border in the fall of 1929. This was described by one of the defendants, V. A. Laritchev, former chairman of the Fuel Section of the State Planning Commission, as a "trial shot." It will also be recalled that early in 1930 a furious campaign against Soviet "dumping" was launched in the press of the world and efforts were made to incite a holy crusade under the leadership of the late Pope Pius XI against Soviet "persecution of religion." During that year incidents were also provoked on the Rumanian, Polish, and Finnish borders, and the Finnish Communist Party was suppressed. But Soviet success in carrying through, despite the wreckers, its vast industrialization and agricultural program—a program bitterly opposed by the Trotskyites and the rightwing Bukharin-Rykov group—and the arrest of the leaders of the conspiracy put a crimp in the plans of the British and French imperialists and their White Guard stooges. But why assume that they have permanently abandoned their dreams of destroying the land of socialism? Churchill is once again in the British Cabinet, Baron von Mannerheim still commands the troops of the anti-Soviet Finnish regime, and all the forces of dying and fear-stricken capitalism still hope to erase the handwriting on the wall.

A. B. MAGIL.

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Coughlin and the Nazis

Silver Charlie's "relic of the True Cross" racket. Unsupported by the church. Conversation with the Roman Catholic chancellor of the Detroit Archdiocese. W. J. Cameron and Coughlin.

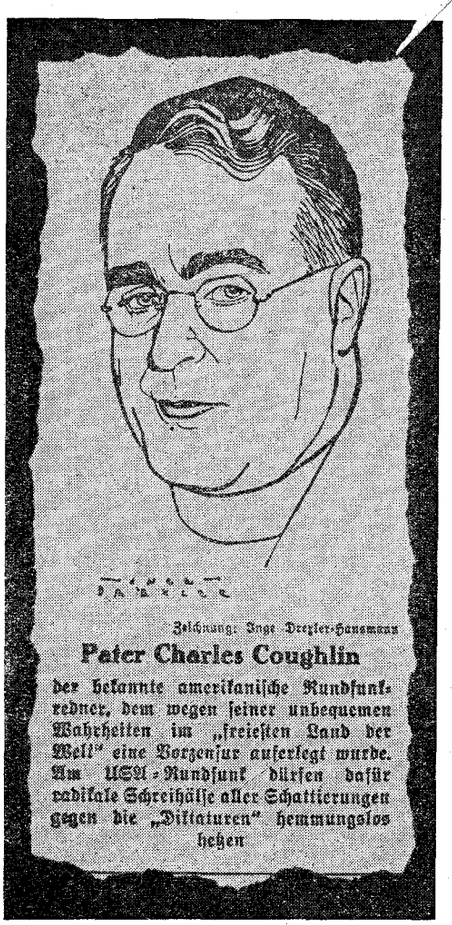
DETROIT sprawls over a vast area, with the towns and villages on its outskirts almost a part of the industrial center. The stranger finds it difficult to tell where Detroit ends and a suburb begins, as with Royal Oak, where the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin holds forth from the Shrine of the Little Flower, twelve miles from the heart of Detroit, on what is known as 12 Mile Road and Woodward Ave.

Scattered homes and roadside stands line the wide and spacious highway which runs by the Shrine. As you approach Woodward Ave. by bus or car you suddenly see the high, imposing tower of the Shrine. A steady stream of cars is always parking in front of the Shrine to discharge passengers, who enter the church on tiptoe, speaking in hushed voices. The auto licenses show that the visitors are from all parts of the country, with Michigan and its bordering states predominating.

THE SACRED SLOGANEER

The Shrine itself was built with an eye to attracting attention. Powerful lights, arranged with the skill of a Broadway advertiser, play upon the marble and granite tower at night, with its enormous frieze of Christ crucified and the single word carved at His feet: Charity. The blocks of stone of which the church is built are carved with inscriptions, some Biblical and some just good slogans, for the radio priest is as stanch a believer in slogans as any advertising man.

Both the Shrine and the tower, rising out of a picturesque sea of green lawn, flowers, and trees, are beautiful examples of church architecture. The agonized face of the Christ figure looks down upon the highway with its teeming traffic and the Broadwayish lights below, and across the street to the church-controlled grounds with the huge sign "Shrine Super-Service" over the gasoline station built there as a little side venture. "Visitors Welcome," "Shrine Inn," "Hot Dogs," face the Christ. You leave the "Hot Dogs" and the pepped-up "Shrine Super-Service," cross the street, and walk up the path to the massive doors of the church only to be confronted with a sign stuck in the emerald lawn: "Souvenirs." A finger points to a building on the lawn where the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin sells mementos ranging from his own pictures to anti-Semitic books and newspapers. You breathe a sigh of relief once you pass through the church doors. Hot dogs and souvenirs have been left behind. Here at last you are in God's House, tranquil and still, cloistered and secluded from the money-changers of the outside world. But as the heavy doors close silently, you stare at another sign with the finger pointing towards the chapel: "Souvenirs." It's just another shop within the church itself where, in the shadow of the altar, the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin sells the cross, the Bible, picture postcards of himself, the same anti-Semitic books, and the Brooklyn *Tablet,* which is also carrying on an anti-Semitic campaign.


Zeichnung: Inge Dreyfer-Hansmann
Pater Charles Coughlin
der bekannte amerikanische Rundfunkredner, dem wegen seiner unbequemen Wahrheiten im „freiesten Land der Welt" eine Vorzensur auferlegt wurde. Am USA-Rundfunk dürfen dafür radikale Schreihälse aller Schattierungen gegen die „Diktaturen" hemmungslos hetzen

HEIL COUGHLIN! *Hitler's official paper, the "Volkischer Beobachter," hailed Silver Charlie as a pal, Nov. 27, 1938. The Nazi blurb translates: "The famous American radio-speaker who, because of his embarrassing truths, had to submit to precensorship in 'the freest Land in the World.' On the other hand, all sorts of radicals are permitted on the radios of the USA to clamor against 'dictatorships.'"*

This shop opens upon the chapel. Through the open door, in the presence of the patron saint of the Shrine, you see a desk with a sign: "Enroll here for the Radio League of the Little Flower." The application blanks on the desk, laid out neatly for the visitor's attention, state that it is a "non-political organization." This assurance is signed "Father Coughlin." It is this same "non-political organization" which has taken in about $1,000,000 from the public, and used almost $100,000 of this money to help launch the National Union for Social Justice, a political organization, founded by the priest. The monies taken in by this League and what is done with them are not reported to the priest's ecclesiastical superiors, whose tax-exempt property it uses.

Underneath this shop and chapel are the offices out of which the various corporations organized by Silver Charlie solicit funds from the public. None of these privately controlled money-raising outfits makes any report on income and expenditures to the church upon whose property they operate without paying rent or taxes. Here are the offices of the privately owned *Social Justice* magazine which bluntly told the archbishop of Detroit that it is not and never was an organ of the Catholic Church and consequently didn't intend to submit to editing by the priest's ecclesiastical superior, who was acting upon papal instructions. Here, Silver Charlie himself busily directs the thriving business of raking in the shekels, while directly overhead his employees sell the cross to whoever will buy.

PIETISTIC RACKET

I had some letters which showed how Silver Charlie worked the religious angle in a little advertising scheme in which he used a "relic of the True Cross" as a "come on," as it's called in the advertising world, to solicit subscriptions to his privately owned *Social Justice* magazine. In comparison with some of his other activities it was trifling; it interested me only because it showed the way he uses the most solemn articles of his faith to plug his publishing venture.

Coughlin had put in some wholesale orders for little chromeplated crosses, each of them stamped "Radio League of the Little Flower," which he is even now distributing with a circulation plugging letter. The recipient is told that this gift cross has touched a "relic of the True Cross" and ends with a "P.S." as if Coughlin had just thought of it: "Will you please do me a personal favor and secure one more subscription to *Social Justice* magazine this week or next? It expresses the suppressed truth. The enclosed card is for your convenience. God bless you!" Below that: "P.P.S. If some friend wants a crucifix let me know. C.E.C."

I asked the hostess in the church souvenir shop if I could have a cross which had touched a relic of the True Cross.

"I'm so sorry," she smiled apologetically, "but we're all out. There has been such a demand for them. We wired three times for additional supplies, and we've already sent out thousands—oh, thousands and thousands of them. But you know, it takes a little time to manufacture and stamp them. I'm expect-

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ing a new batch this week and I'll send you one."

"Perhaps I could get one back East," I said anxiously.

"Oh," she shook her head disapprovingly, "I suppose so, but it wouldn't be blessed. Father gets them, blesses the whole lot, and then we ship them out."

"They come here direct from the manufacturer?"

"Oh, yes," she said cheerfully, and added impressively, "We have already ordered them three times, each time in larger shipments."

There is no relic of the True Cross at the Shrine of the Little Flower. The wholesale manufacturer hasn't got a relic of the True Cross. The railroads carrying the shipments haven't got a relic of the True Cross. Just where, in the course of the manufacture, shipment, and distribution of these little advertising crosses they touched a relic of the True Cross is a mystery. After looking into it a little, I concluded it's a gag played upon the deep religious emotions of his contributors so they'll subscribe to Coughlin's magazine, a gag as phony as using the non-existent "Ben Marcin" to disseminate anti-Semitic propaganda in his magazine.

WHAT THE CHANCELLOR SAID

I was a bit curious about where he got the authority to say definitely that the advertising crosses touched a relic of the True Cross and I decided to ask at the Archdiocese of Detroit. There were several questions I wanted to ask the priest's ecclesiastical superiors, anyway—whether the Archdiocese knew of its priest's strange financial manipulations, whether he used any of the monies collected for church work and whether the Archdiocese was given detailed accountings of what happened to the money collected.

I called upon the Rev. Edward J. Hickey, chancellor of the Archdiocese of Detroit. When I told him that I was from NEW MASSES and what I wanted to know, his first reaction was to excuse himself. I explained that, since apparently many of the priest's activities were exceedingly sharp practice and some even appeared to be illegal, the church's refusal to explain its knowledge or lack of knowledge of these acts might be misconstrued as approval of them.

The chancellor thought it over, and finally said, "Just what is it you wish to ask?"

"There's a minor question I'd like to ask first. Are there any relics of the True Cross in the United States?"

He seemed surprised at the question. "Those claiming to be relics of the True Cross can be numbered in the hundreds," he smiled. "If a person is willing to believe and finds solace in that belief, it is one thing. I am not saying there is no True Cross relic in the country."

"Could a Catholic priest give people definite assurances that something is a relic of the True Cross?"

"Only if he had documents which stand the test of the closest examination and it has been approved by the Archbishop; otherwise he can use it only for personal veneration."

"Could a priest of the Catholic Church tell people that something has touched a relic of the True Cross and use that flat statement for commercial advertising purposes?"

He dropped his eyes for a moment. I had a feeling that he knew about Silver Charlie's advertising scheme.

"I don't think that question is considered in canon law," he said cautiously. "I don't believe canon law ever thought of it."

"I see," I said. "Suppose we get on to his finances. What control has the church over Father Coughlin's finances?"

"The pastor controls the finances of his parish. He sends in an annual report which states what his church property is—its income and disbursements. It is all itemized."

"Do you ever audit his books?"

"We don't audit the books of any church in the whole diocese."

"Then you have no way of knowing if his reports are accurate?"

"The archbishop has authority to supervise the finances and make regulations regarding the finances of his church, but only of church property and monies. If he has a Radio League of the Little Flower or a *Social Justice* magazine, that is not under my supervision."

"What about the monies taken in by the Radio League and the magazine?"

"They are not included in the reports and are not under my supervision."

"Has any money from the Radio League or *Social Justice* magazine gone to his church?"

The chancellor thought this over carefully. "I don't think he could have built the buildings and the school just with contributions made during his sermons," he said slowly. "He must have taken some of the money for his parish and church activities."

"Does the church exercise any control over the non-profit-making corporations organized by her priests?"

"WHAT POOR SOCIETY?"

"The only ones I'm familiar with are those like orphanages, etc., of which, very often, the archbishop is president——"

"I mean non-profit-making corporations which get control of profit-making corporations, as in the case of the Social Justice Poor Society——"

"The what?" said the chancellor.

What Spivak Has Told

IN HIS first two articles, John L. Spivak laid bare the incorporated finaglings of the Radio League of the Little Flower, Inc., the National Union for Social Justice, Inc., Social Justice Publishing Co., Inc., the Social Justice Poor Society, Inc., and the various employees who act as dummies for the private and public ventures of "Silver Charlie" Coughlin.

In the first article (which appeared November 21) the official statement of the National Union for Social Justice (incorporated as a political organization) was reproduced, showing that $99,192.17 was loaned this political organization by the Radio League of the Little Flower, Inc., and $2,000 was loaned for political purposes by Sainte Therese Parish, Royal Oak. Thus devout Catholics supporting their church might find their contributions used to attack the presidential candidate of the United States for whom they were voting. Charles E. Coughlin was shown to be the only incorporator and stockholder of "Social Justice" magazine.

The second article (which appeared November 28) showed the corporation reports of Social Justice Publishing Co., Inc., revealing the silent partner of "Silver Charlie": Edward Kinsky of New York. It revealed the switch of ownership (on paper) of the magazine to the Social Justice Poor Society, a non-profit charitable organization which shows no record of performing any work of charity, except holding the stock of Social Justice Publishing Co.

The third article (in the December 5 issue) published facsimiles of Silver Charlie's stockmarket accounts revealing his trading in auto stocks at the very time that he was denouncing stock trading on the radio as "gambling with other people's money." Spivak also showed the financial statement of the League of the Little Flower, Inc., which lists a loan of $3,904.87 to T. J. Coughlin, the priest's father. An amazing interview with Prewitt Semmes, Coughlin's attorney, with notes signed by Semmes, contained admissions which confirm the charges made in New Masses for the past month. Finally, the mysterious "Ben Marcin" was shown as a fictitious name under which anti-Semitic articles were written by various members of the "Social Justice" staff. He had been announced as a Jewish contributor to Silver Charlie's racist paper.

Last week, Spivak exposed the hookup between Henry Ford, Homer Martin, and Silver Charlie in their campaign against the United Automobile Workers in Detroit. The conference between Martin and Coughlin on arranging the phony organization of the Ford plant was reported by R. J. Thomas, now president of the UAW, who was at the Shrine when Silver Charlie pledged Martin that he would fix the deal with Ford. Documents shown proved that Ford agents officially distribute Coughlin speeches.

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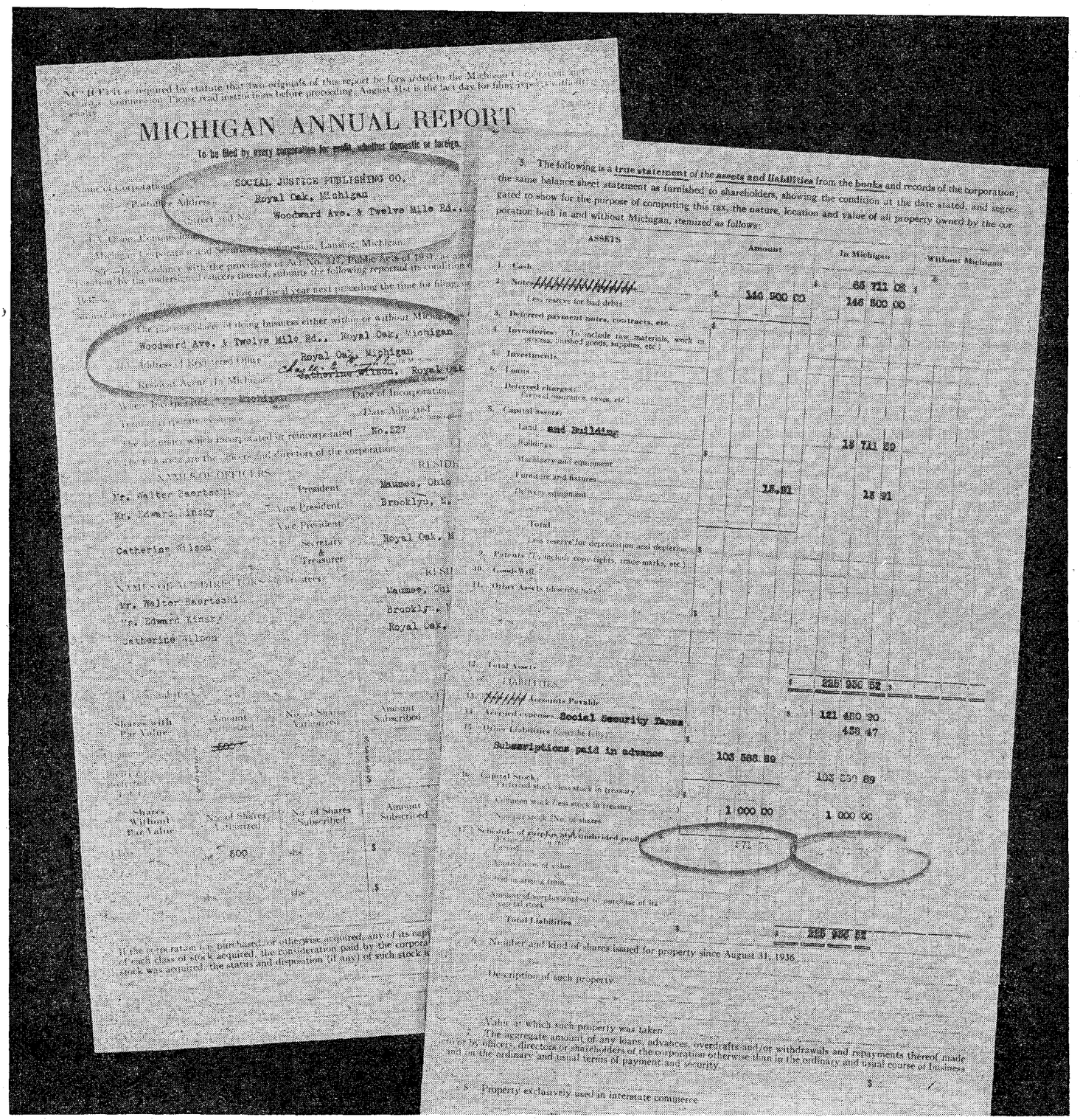
"The Social Justice Poor Society."

"I never heard of that one," he smiled.

"He organized it ostensibly to aid the poor. Actually its sole function has been to serve as a holding company for *Social Justice* magazine stock. The Radio League of the Little Flower is collecting money from the public with assurances that it's a non-political organization. Some of this Radio League money, and parish money entrusted to his care, has been loaned to a political organization he organized and controlled. So far as his parish money is concerned, I understand that he acts simply as treasurer or trustee for the church. It's my understanding that when the treasurer of a company holds a firm's money in the firm's name but can write a check for it, and then loans the firm's money without the firm's authorization, it's called larceny. What I want to know is: did the church authorize the loaning of parish money entrusted to his care to a political organization?"

The chancellor seemed startled. "He is supposed to keep parish funds in the name of the parish and it's supposed to be separate from his personal account," he said definitely.

"In relation to the church and the state: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WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH THIRTEEN BUCKS. *In 1937 when Coughlin's lawyer told the archbishop of Detroit that "Social Justice" magazine was not an organ of the Roman Catholic Church, but a privately financed business venture, the magazine's published offices were in the Shrine of the Little Flower. In its first few months of business, the magazine which started with only $13.91 worth of furniture drummed up a quarter of a million dollars in assets and earned a small fortune.*

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What is the church's attitude when money is raised by a priest for church activities and that money is used to build a political organization?"

"I don't believe the use of parish funds for such a purpose is permitted under canon law."

"What control has the church over Father Coughlin?"

"I can only say what the archbishop said: permission to speak or print does not necessarily mean approval."

"If what a priest says is proved to be false and after evidence of its falsity is placed before him he deliberately repeats these false assertions, what can the church do?"

"If it affects our morals or doctrine, it's the duty of the church to take it up. If it is politics, economics, and social conditions, then it does not come within the scope of the church."

"If it is proved that a priest has violated state and federal laws?"

MUSTN'T CAUSE SCANDAL

The chancellor looked worried and sat thoughtful for a long time. "That's a vague question," he said finally. "If it's a law like speeding, the church does nothing, but if it's a serious violation which might degrade a person, he would not be allowed to practice the sacred duties of a priest."

"What is the church's attitude towards its priests gambling on the stockmarket?"

"The church cannot condone the use of church funds for gambling."

"Suppose money was raised ostensibly for church purposes and that money used for stockmarket gambling——"

"Wouldn't it be better if you left me out of this?" he interrupted gently.

"But I must quote a church authority," I explained. "I can't just say 'the church said' or something equally vague. These questions concern a priest of the Catholic Church who is wielding great influence in this country. Most people with whom I talked think he is speaking and acting for the church. I've got to have someone in high authority whom I can quote directly."

The perturbed look on his face deepened. "But wasn't that money in the hands of a secretary and raised by the League of the Little Flower?" he asked.

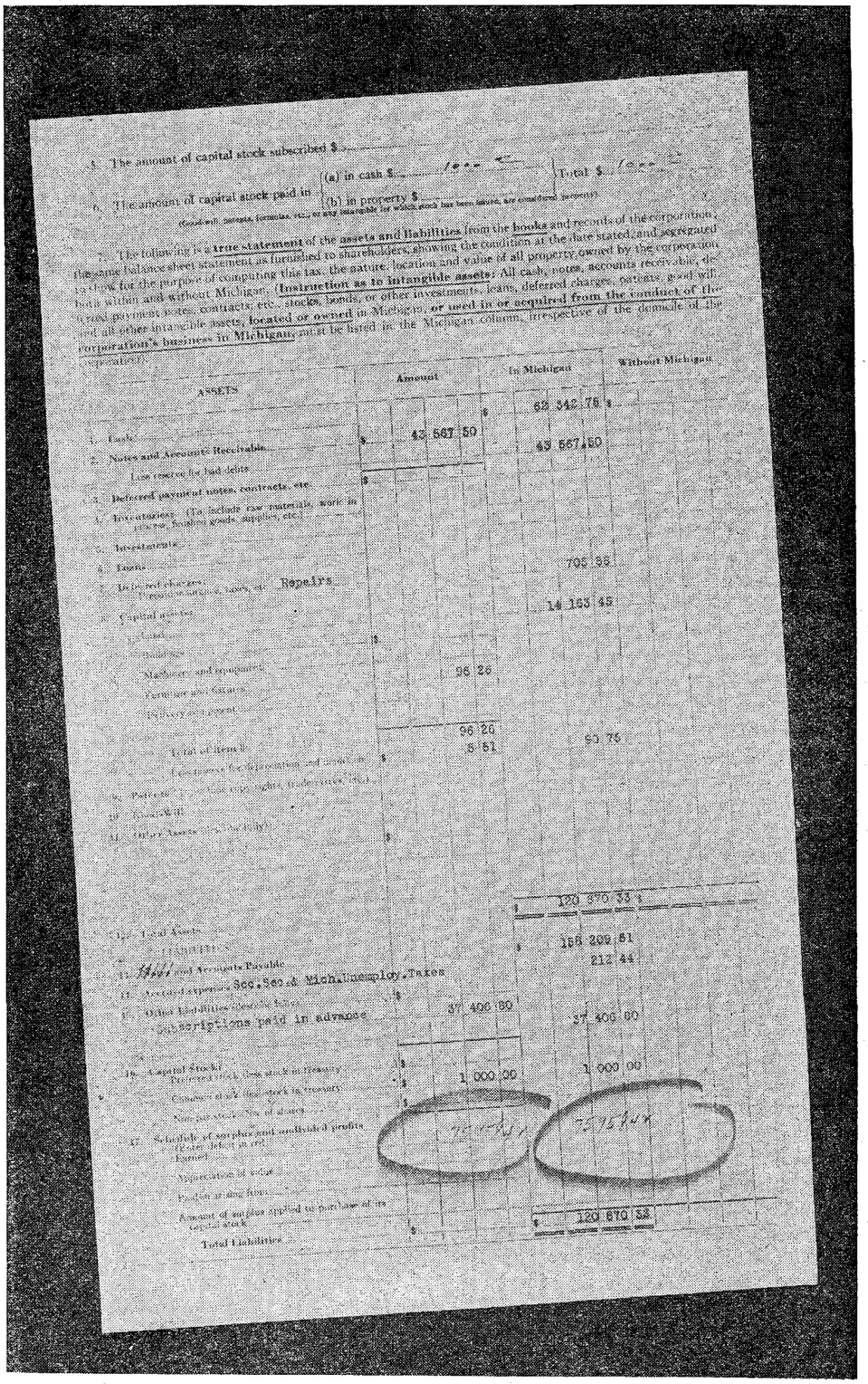
"Yes. That's correct."

"Then it wasn't parish funds——"

"The League of the Little Flower was incorporated to raise money for the specific purpose of maintaining his church and to build a new one."

"Oh," he said. "I didn't know that. I didn't know anything about that."

Since the Archdiocese did not get an itemized or any other accounting of the monies collected and what was done with them, there was no use asking the chancellor how Silver Charlie met *Social Justice's* heavy annual deficits or how the difference was made up between the sums collected for his broadcasts and the sums actually expended.



HOW TO LOSE THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS. *The Social Justice Publishing Co., Inc., tells the state of Michigan that it lost over $75,000 during 1938.*

Coughlin's anti-Semitic activities, his dissemination of Nazi propaganda emanating from Germany, and his intense anti-union efforts coincided strangely with some of Henry Ford's interests. I have no direct evidence that Ford ever gave Silver Charlie a nickel, but the Ford-Coughlin interests coincided so many times that what might have been an isolated coincidence or two seemed to be habitual. Coincidences occurred too often and they made me wonder if those isolated incidents of which I knew and had evidence, might not offer a solution as to where Silver Charlie got a lot of his support. Let me list a few as I jotted them down in the effort to find a solution to the mystery:

"INDEPENDENT" TO "SOCIAL JUSTICE"

The Dearborn *Independent,* owned by Henry Ford and edited by William J. Cameron, published the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which had been repeatedly

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exposed as a forgery. This anti-Semitic propaganda, disseminated by one of America's richest men, shocked and horrified all religious and racial groups. Ford was denounced and his automobiles boycotted until the effect was profoundly felt by the Ford Motor Co. To end this boycott and the denunciations against him Ford finally issued a public apology to the Jews and sold the Dearborn *Independent*.

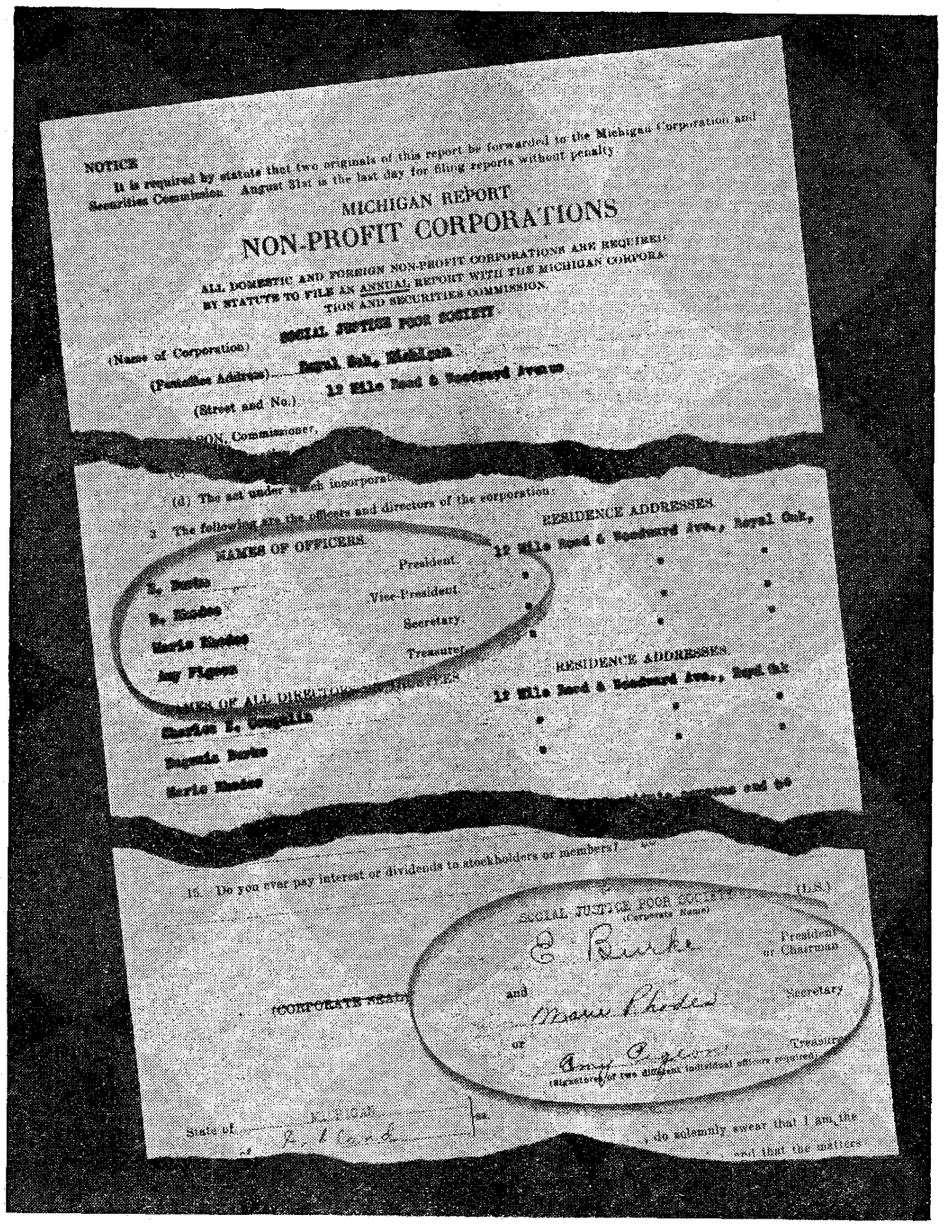
After this public apology Ford made W. J. Cameron, editor of the newspaper, his private secretary. Cameron never left Ford's employ and is today the company's official spokesman over the air and to the press.

In 1933 when Hitler got control over Germany he sent swarms of propaganda agents to the United States, one of their chief activities being the dissemination of racial and religious hatred. This was developed to a high point of efficiency by the German-American Bund, formerly the Friends of New Germany. The leader of the Bund was Fritz Kuhn, recently sentenced to prison as a common thief. Kuhn worked as a chemist at the Ford plant and was the local fuehrer of the Friends of New Germany until he was designated national fuehrer in 1936. In that year the name was changed to German-American Bund. While Kuhn was on the Ford payroll he traveled around the United States organizing various branches of the Nazi organization, with Henry Ford's full knowledge. When Kuhn was sent to Sing Sing last week, Henry Ford "coincidentally" was in the crowd that saw the "fuehrer" off to jail. All New York newspapers published this strange fact.

Shortly after Fritz Kuhn went to work at the Ford plant William J. Cameron, under whose editorship the "Protocols" were published, organized the Anglo-Saxon Federation, with headquarters in Chicago and Detroit. Cameron writes editorials for *Destiny*, its official magazine, which is anti-Catholic as well as anti-Semitic. This Federation promptly put an unscrupulous collection of anti-Semitic speakers before groups and started to disseminate the "Protocols." I say "unscrupulous" because Cameron used as his emissaries a pretty collection of thieves and crooks masquerading as ministers of the cloth. To name just a few samples: the "Reverend" Joe Jeffers, picked up by the Los Angeles police, charged with sex perversion; Peter Armstrong, alias Peter Afanasieff, alias Prince Peter Kushubue, who did a little time for forging a U. S. Treasury check; Jimmy Nielsen, ex-convict from Minneapolis; the "Reverend" Dawson McCullough, picked up in Sandusky, Mich., for walking off with twelve silver fox furs which didn't belong to him.

When public opinion was again aroused at Cameron's activities the Anglo-Saxon Federation headquarters were moved to the residence of Dr. Howard Rand at Haverhill, Mass., so that Ford wouldn't be publicly tied up with the organization. Rand flies regularly to Detroit to confer with Cameron.

Gerald Winrod, another phony "minister" who is one of the chief Nazi agents and propagandists in the United States, raised


NOTICE
It is required by statute that two originals of this report be forwarded to the Michigan Corporation and Securities Commission. August 31st is the last day for filing reports without penalty.
MICHIGAN REPORT
NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS
ALL DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS ARE REQUIRED BY STATUTE TO FILE AN ANNUAL REPORT WITH THE MICHIGAN CORPORATION AND SECURITIES COMMISSION.
(Name of Corporation) SOCIAL JUSTICE POOR SOCIETY
(Principal Address) Royal Oak, Michigan
(Street and No.) 12 Mile Road & Woodward Avenue
(d) The act under which incorporated
2. The following are the officers and directors of the corporation:
NAMES OF OFFICERS
RESIDENCE ADDRESSES
President
Vice-President
Secretary
Treasurer
12 Mile Road & Woodward Ave., Royal Oak,
15. Do you ever pay interest or dividends to stockholders or members?
SOCIAL JUSTICE POOR SOCIETY
(Corporate Name)
(U.S.)
President or Chairman
and
Secretary
or
Treasurer
(CORPORATE SEAL)
State of
do solemnly swear that I am the
and that the matters

THOSE BIG OFFICERS. *Eugenia Burke, who gives her occupation as "clerk," is the president of the Social Justice Poor Society which owns "Social Justice" magazine. Marie Rhodes, whose occupation is "stenographer," is secretary of the Coughlin outfit which owns the magazine. Amy Pigeon is none other than Amy Collins who held half a million ounces of*

money to launch a Nazi propaganda "news service." One of the persons from whom he got money was William J. Cameron.

The Nazi government, through its Bund in this country, did its utmost to defeat Roosevelt in the 1936 election. One of the richest men also fighting Roosevelt was Ford. And the opposition of Coughlin, formerly a supporter of the President, was frenzied. The Nazis, Ford, and Coughlin all wanted a more reactionary, pro-fascist administration.

"SOCIAL JUSTICE" LOSSES

In preparation for this anti-Roosevelt campaign Coughlin launched *Social Justice* magazine, with an initial investment of $1,000. It costs around half a million dollars a year to run the magazine. Since it was founded the publication has run up a healthy deficit. The loss now averages between $60,000 and $75,000 a year. Obviously somebody helped meet the initial outlay and is footing the annual losses.

Simultaneously with launching this paper Coughlin extended his time on the air, seeking more and more radio stations. (I shall show, when I deal with his Radio League of the Little Flower, that the contributions from his listeners are far from enough to meet the cost of the stations over which he broadcasts.)

The carefully chosen director of the Coughlin-Lemke Union Party was Newton Jenkins, who met secretly with Nazi agents and propagandists.

In 1937 the CIO launched a drive to organize the Ford plant. Coughlin promptly denounced the CIO as "Communist."

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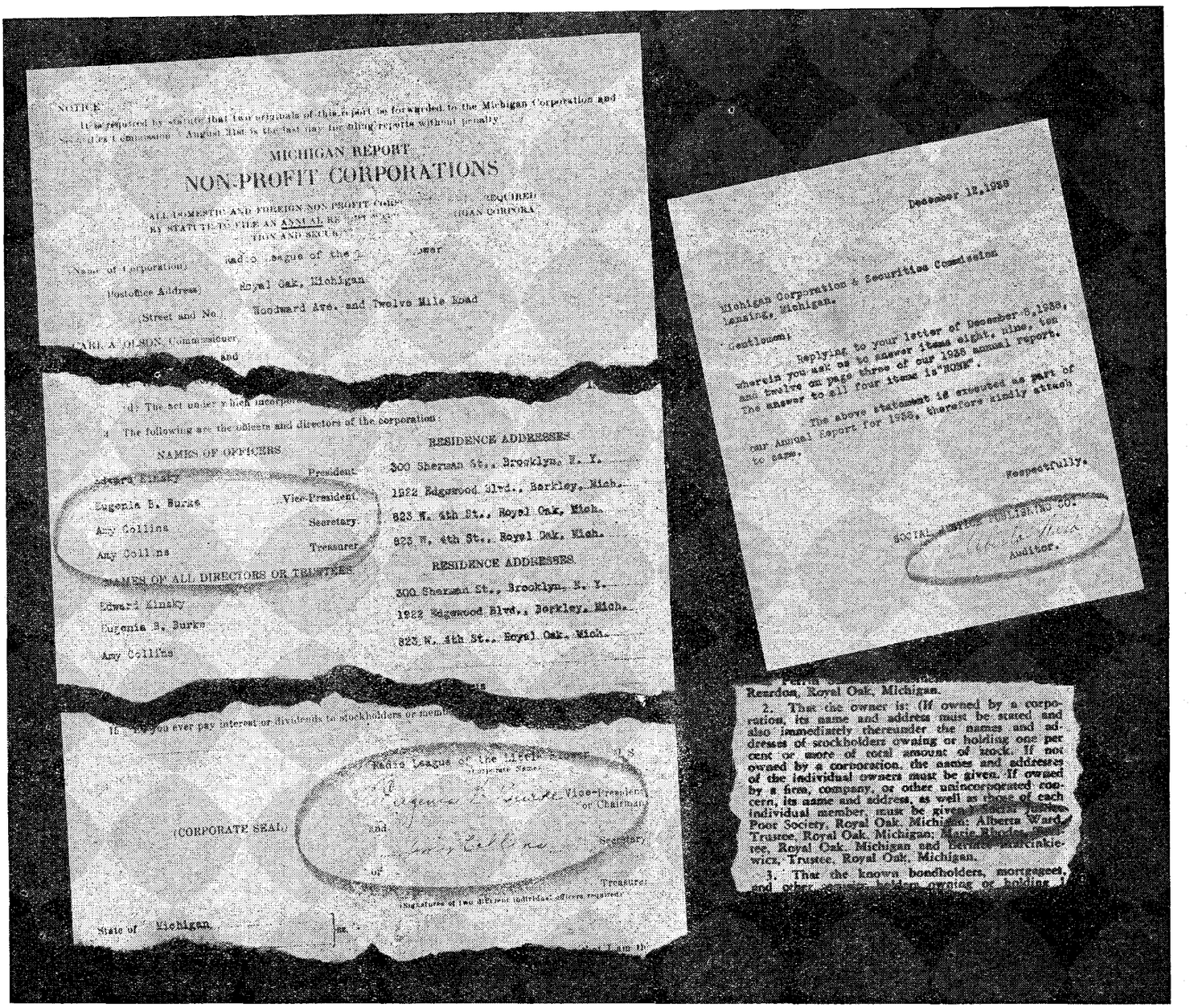
MICHIGAN REPORT
NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS
Name of Corporation
Radio League of the Little Flower
Postoffice Address
Royal Oak, Michigan
Street and No.
Woodward Ave. and Twelve Mile Road
RESIDENCE ADDRESSES
NAMES OF OFFICERS
Edward Kinsky President 300 Sherman St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Eugenia B. Burke Vice-President 1922 Edgewood Blvd., Berkley, Mich.
Amy Collins Secretary 823 W. 4th St., Royal Oak, Mich.
Amy Collins Treasurer 823 W. 4th St., Royal Oak, Mich.
NAMES OF ALL DIRECTORS OR TRUSTEES
RESIDENCE ADDRESSES
Edward Kinsky 300 Sherman St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Eugenia B. Burke 1922 Edgewood Blvd., Berkley, Mich.
Amy Collins 823 W. 4th St., Royal Oak, Mich.
(CORPORATE SEAL)
Vice-President or Chairman
Secretary
Treasurer
State of Michigan
December 12,1938
Michigan Corporation & Securities Commission
Lansing, Michigan.
Gentlemen:
Replying to your letter of December 8,1938,
wherein you ask us to answer items eight, nine, ten
and twelve on page three of our 1938 annual report.
The answer to all four items is"NONE".
The above statement is executed as part of
our Annual Report for 1938, therefore kindly attach
to same.
Respectfully,
Auditor.
Reardon, Royal Oak, Michigan.
2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Social Justice Poor Society, Royal Oak, Michigan; Alberta Ward, Trustee, Royal Oak, Michigan; Annie Rhodes, Trustee, Royal Oak, Michigan and Bernice Sparkinkiewicz, Trustee, Royal Oak, Michigan.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding

silver for Father Coughlin while he gambled in the stockmarket. Dorothy Rhodes, Coughlin stenographer, is vice-president of the Social Justice Poor Society whose offices are in the Shrine of the Little Flower. Eugenia Burke is also vice-president of the Radio League of the Little Flower, a million dollar business. Alberta Ward, $20 a week auditor for Social Justice Publishing Co., is a trustee of the Poor Society, according to the statement of ownership of "Social Justice" magazine.

Coughlin actively attempted to split the CIO by persuading Homer Martin, now an AFL labor "leader," to leave the CIO. In my last article I showed that a few months after his several sessions with the radio priest, Martin was getting fat sums from Harry Bennett, head of the Ford labor spy organization.

Ford district agents disseminate Coughlin's radio propaganda.

THE "PROTOCOLS"

In 1938 Coughlin began to publish the "Protocols," launched an intensive anti-Semitic campaign, and started to spread propaganda emanating from the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda.

About the same time Henry Ford received a medal from Hitler—the highest honor which any foreigner can be given by the Nazi state. No explanation of what Ford ever did to merit this Nazi honor has ever come from Germany or from Henry Ford.

All of these, of course, may be just coincidences but—and this isn't the complete list by any means—it seems to me that there are too damn many coincidences.

That Silver Charlie has few scruples about how or from whom he gets his money, I have already shown by documentary evidence that he collected money "to build a new church" and used it to gamble on the stockmarket, that he collected money from the public upon his solemn assurance that it was for a "non-political organization" and then used it to build a political organization; that he took even his own parish's money in violation of Roman Catholic canon law to build his political organization. This same unscrupulousness is found in his deliberate dissemination of falsehoods. I describe it as "deliberate" because, after he issued some of his anti-Semitic propaganda, perturbed Jews and Catholics, who did not realize that it was part of a campaign, laid evidence before him that his "facts" were inaccurate but the radio priest ignored the evidence and continued repeating the same falsehoods. Let me illustrate with one of the books Silver Charlie is peddling at this very moment. His letter is reproduced herewith. This book spreads anti-Semitic propaganda whose falsity has been denounced by United States government officials, high Catholic dignitaries, statesmen, and scholars. One of its assertions is that twenty-four out of twenty-five names it lists were "quasi-cabinet members" in Lenin's government in 1917, the purpose being to show that the twenty-four were

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Jews and that the Russian Revolution was a Jewish-Communist plot to dominate the world.

Much of Coughlin's anti-Semitic propaganda spread to millions over his radio hookup and through the pages of *Social Justice* has been taken word for word, without even a comma being changed, from propaganda issued by the Nazi minister of propaganda. Let me offer just a few publicly proved instances:

Goebbels: In November 1934 the Chinese Marshal Chiang Kai-shek made public the information that in the province of Kiangsi one million people were murdered by the Communists and six million robbed of their possessions.

Coughlin: In November 1934 the Chinese Marshal Chiang Kai-shek made public the information that in the province of Kiangsi one million people were murdered by the Communists and six million robbed of their possessions.

Goebbels: The Soviet statistician Oganowsky estimates the number of persons who died of hunger in the years 1921-22 at 5,200,000.

Coughlin: The Soviet statistician Oganowsky estimates the number of persons who died of hunger in the years 1921-22 at 5,200,000.

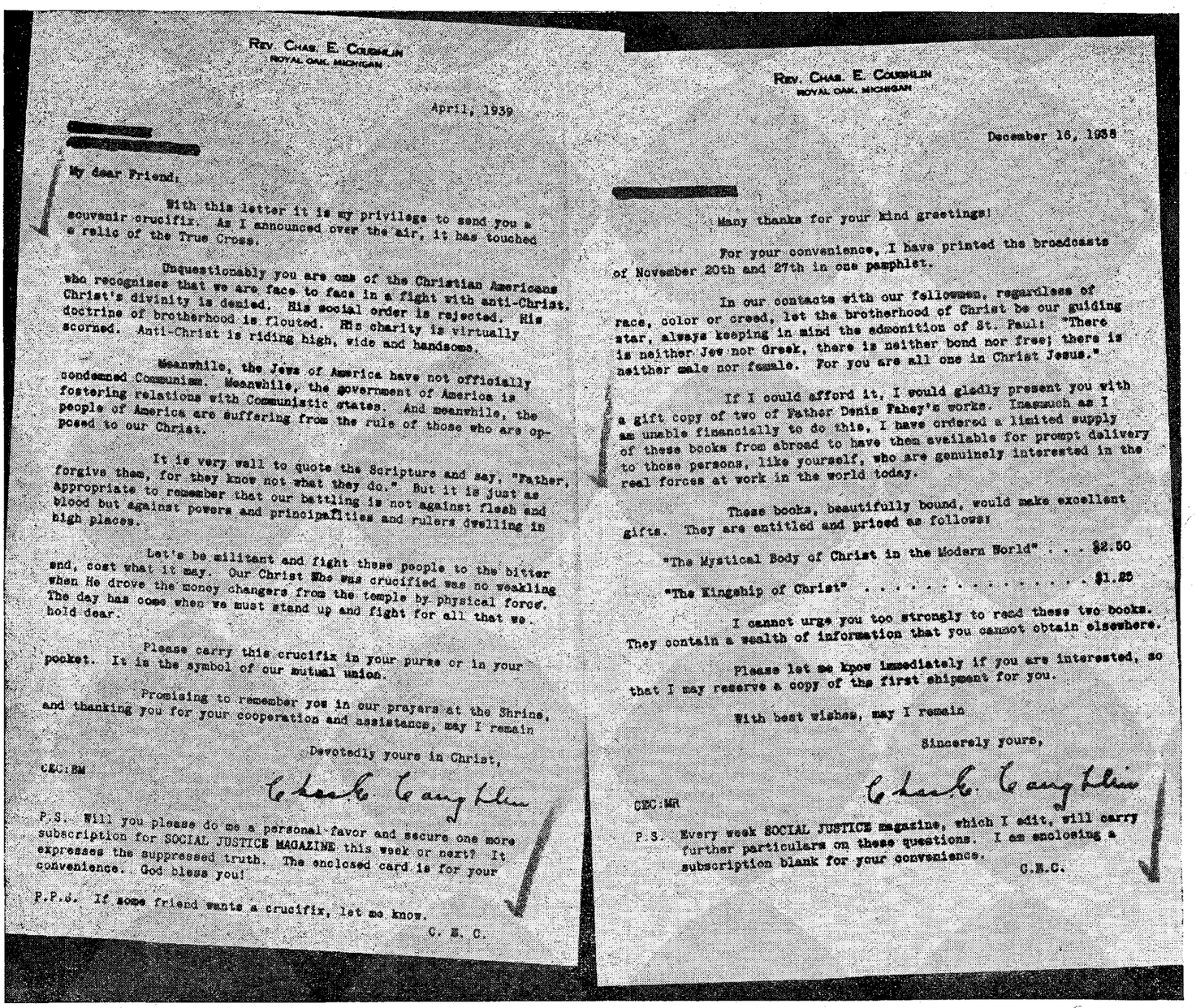
Goebbels: The Austrian cardinal archbishop, Monsignor Innitzer, said in his appeal of July 1934 that millions of people were dying of hunger throughout the Soviet Union.

Coughlin: The Austrian cardinal archbishop, Monsignor Innitzer, said in his appeal of July 1934 that millions of people were dying of hunger throughout the Soviet Union.

This could be repeated over and over, showing that Silver Charlie didn't even change a comma in spreading, as his own, propaganda issued by the Nazi minister of propaganda.

While the priest was thus disseminating Nazi propaganda he was secretly communicating with Nazi agents and propagandists active in this country, one of his choice contacts being William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts. The Dies committee has in its files telegrams and a record of telephone calls exchanged between Pelley and Coughlin. Don't ask me why, in his zeal to expose "un-American activities," Dies suppressed this evidence. Ask him.

Pelley, during this period, was meeting with Fritz Kuhn and Hermann Schwinn, West Coast Nazi leader, and it was during this period, too, that Oscar C. Pfaus, director of the American section of the Fichte Bund, which issues much of the propaganda disseminated throughout the world by Nazi Germany, planned to organize the various pro-Nazi and anti-democratic groups into one powerful force. Among those whom Pfaus listed for this united fascist body were the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, William Dudley Pelley, James True of Washington, D. C.,



Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin
Royal Oak, Michigan

April, 1939

[redacted]

My dear Friend:

With this letter it is my privilege to send you a souvenir crucifix. As I announced over the air, it has touched a relic of the True Cross.

Unquestionably you are one of the Christian Americans who recognizes that we are face to face in a fight with anti-Christ. Christ's divinity is denied. His social order is rejected. His doctrine of brotherhood is flouted. His charity is virtually scorned. Anti-Christ is riding high, wide and handsome.

Meanwhile, the Jews of America have not officially condemned Communism. Meanwhile, the government of America is fostering relations with Communistic states. And meanwhile, the people of America are suffering from the rule of those who are opposed to our Christ.

It is very well to quote the Scripture and say, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." But it is just as appropriate to remember that our battling is not against flesh and blood but against powers and principalities and rulers dwelling in high places.

Let's be militant and fight these people to the bitter end, cost what it may. Our Christ Who was crucified was no weakling when He drove the money changers from the temple by physical force. The day has come when we must stand up and fight for all that we hold dear.

Please carry this crucifix in your purse or in your pocket. It is the symbol of our mutual union.

Promising to remember you in our prayers at the Shrine, and thanking you for your cooperation and assistance, may I remain

Devotedly yours in Christ,

C&C:BM

Chas. E. Coughlin

P.S. Will you please do me a personal favor and secure one more subscription for SOCIAL JUSTICE MAGAZINE this week or next? It expresses the suppressed truth. The enclosed card is for your convenience. God bless you!

P.P.S. If some friend wants a crucifix, let me know.

C. E. C.

Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin
Royal Oak, Michigan

December 16, 1938

[redacted]

Many thanks for your kind greetings!

For your convenience, I have printed the broadcasts of November 20th and 27th in one pamphlet.

In our contacts with our fellowmen, regardless of race, color or creed, let the brotherhood of Christ be our guiding star, always keeping in mind the admonition of St. Paul: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus."

If I could afford it, I would gladly present you with a gift copy of two of Father Denis Fahey's works. Inasmuch as I am unable financially to do this, I have ordered a limited supply of these books from abroad to have them available for prompt delivery to those persons, like yourself, who are genuinely interested in the real forces at work in the world today.

These books, beautifully bound, would make excellent gifts. They are entitled and priced as follows:

"The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World" . . . $2.50

"The Kingship of Christ" $1.25

I cannot urge you too strongly to read these two books. They contain a wealth of information that you cannot obtain elsewhere.

Please let me know immediately if you are interested, so that I may reserve a copy of the first shipment for you.

With best wishes, may I remain

Sincerely yours,

CEC:MR

Chas. E. Coughlin

P.S. Every week SOCIAL JUSTICE magazine, which I edit, will carry further particulars on these questions. I am enclosing a subscription blank for your convenience.

C.E.C.

THE CRUCIFIX AS A "COME ON." *One of the most unashamed pietistic tricks is Silver Charlie's blasphemous use of a "true cross" relic to plug his Nazi propaganda sheet, "Social Justice." This sales letter is on the left. On the right is his sales letter for the books of Father Denis Fahey, compendiums of anti-Semitism and historical lies that have been denounced as false by eminent Catholic authorities.*

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who on Feb. 23, 1938, wrote to a Nazi agent offering to get him U. S. Army guns in any quantity, and Gerald B. Winrod, who got money from Cameron.

Nor is Silver Charlie averse, according to an affidavit in my possession, to a little pogrom against the Jews. Let me tell about the recent conference he had with the Nazi Bund leader for the Midwest whom he invited to Royal Oak.

William Wernecke, the Nazi leader, lives at 6250 Wayne Ave., Chicago, but is usually found at 30 North LaSalle St., Chicago, where he poses as a "broker." Most of his time is spent in the office of Newton Jenkins, who directed the Coughlin-Lemke campaign. Incidentally, Jenkins made a hurried trip to Germany in January of this year for a conference with Goebbels—but that's another story.

The affidavit I have is signed by a person still very close to the Nazi Bund leaders. At this time I should prefer not to disclose my informant's identity. I can produce this witness before any governmental body which really wishes to get to the bottom of the Coughlin-Nazi tieup. Pending such disclosure, let me tell the story as contained in the affidavit:

On Wednesday night, Feb. 8, 1939, the German-American Bund had a meeting in its headquarters at 3855 North Western Ave., Chicago. After the meeting Wernecke took my informant aside and gleefully said that he had just come back from a very satisfactory conference with the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin at Royal Oak, Mich. My informant commented that it seemed unlikely that Father Coughlin would meet with known Nazi representatives, whereupon Wernecke displayed a letter on Father Coughlin's personal stationery, setting the date and time of the conference.

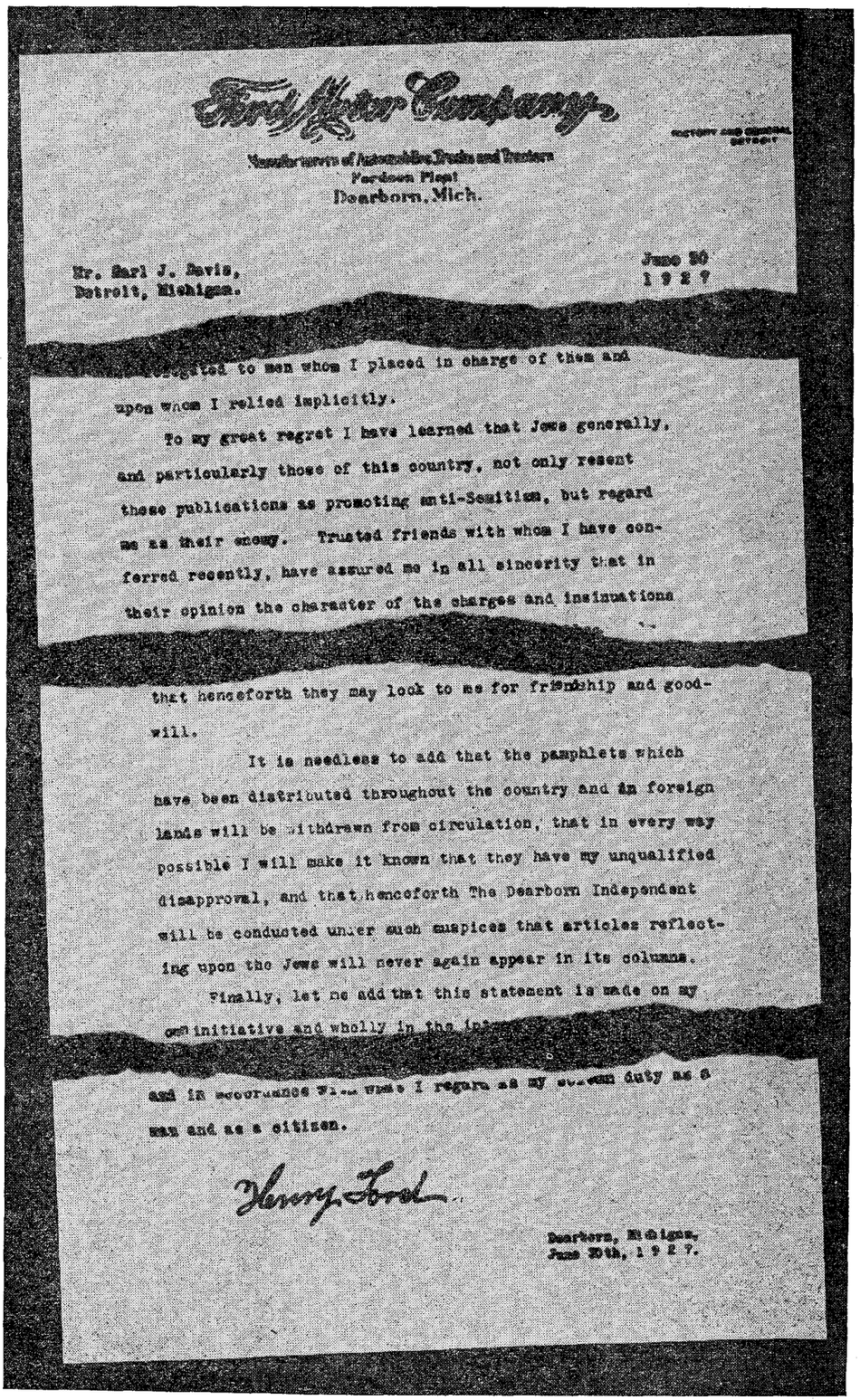
"What did you take up with him?" Wernecke was asked.

The Nazi Bund leader laughed. "A number of things, but I myself was somewhat surprised at the lengths to which Father Coughlin went during our talk, which lasted over two hours. We met in his office in the basement of the Shrine of the Little Flower. A man whose name sounded like Richards was with Father Coughlin. In the course of our talk this man asked me when we were going to kill off three hundred or four hundred Chicago Jews. I told him that I hadn't thought of doing that just yet. Father Coughlin laughed and said, 'It needs doing.' "

This would sound incredible coming from a gentle priest had not Silver Charlie organized his own "stormtroopers" and threatened to show the country "the Franco way." Oddly enough, these plug-uglies are closely tied up with Nazi agents operating in this country.

JOHN L. SPIVAK.

Next week: John L. Spivak will tell of the Nazi tieups of Silver Charlie Coughlin's stormtroop leaders who have caused fights in the streets of New York and threaten even greater "disturbances."



Ford Motor Company

Manufacturers of Automobiles, Trucks and Tractors
Fordson Plant
Dearborn, Mich.

Mr. Earl J. Davis,
Detroit, Michigan.

June 30
1927

upon whom I relied implicitly.

To my great regret I have learned that Jews generally, and particularly those of this country, not only resent these publications as promoting anti-Semitism, but regard me as their enemy. Trusted friends with whom I have conferred recently, have assured me in all sincerity that in their opinion the character of the charges and insinuations

that henceforth they may look to me for friendship and good-will.

It is needless to add that the pamphlets which have been distributed throughout the country and in foreign lands will be withdrawn from circulation, that in every way possible I will make it known that they have my unqualified disapproval, and that henceforth The Dearborn Independent will be conducted under such auspices that articles reflecting upon the Jews will never again appear in its columns.

Finally, let me add that this statement is made on my own initiative and wholly in the interest

and in accordance with what I regard as my present duty as a man and as a citizen.

Henry Ford

Dearborn, Michigan,
June 30th, 1927.

HENRY FORD APOLOGIZES FOR BEING AN ANTI-SEMITE. *Back in 1927, Ford made public apology (facsimile extracts of which are shown above) for the anti-Semitic campaign started by his paper, the Dearborn "Independent," then edited by W. J. Cameron, his secretary and present spokesman for the Ford Motor Co. on the Ford Sunday Evening Radio Hour. Cameron is also a founder and editor of "Destiny," an anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic magazine published by the Anglo-Saxon Federation, a "shirt" outfit. Ford's paper published the infamous "Protocols of Zion": today they are published by Coughlin's "Social Justice." The "Protocols" are standard Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda. Other Goebbels material is used by Coughlin under the rubric of "Ben Marcin." New Masses possesses letters and cables from rabbis in Wilno and Stockholm quoted by "Marcin" exposing the complete fiction of Coughlinite stories. The technique of the "giant lie" applies to all Nazi propaganda appearing in "Social Justice."*

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A. Redfield

The International Bankers' Brigade Arrives

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NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors
CROCKETT JOHNSON, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH MCKENNEY, JOSEPH NORTH, SAMUEL SILLEN.

Associate Editors
JAMES DUGAN, BARBARA GILES.

Business Manager CARL BRISTEL.
West Coast Representative GEORGE WILLNER.
Advertising Manager ERIC BERNAY.
Promotion Manager H. C. ADAMSON.

★

(Continued from page 5)

governmental morality" by shaking the hand of fascist Italy—a hand which has been cleansed of all impurities in the blood of the Ethiopian, Spanish, and Albanian peoples. Walter Lippmann, in a column which is a veritable trumpet call to arms, writes:

> We should consult, I believe, with Italy as the only neutral great power in Europe, and find out whether it is possible for Italy and the United States to work together for the support of the Northern neutrals against the incursion of Russian Bolshevism.

The Latin-American countries, some of whom have had firsthand experience with United States aggression, are also being whipped into line. The People's Front government of Chile, however, has refused to go along with the anti-Soviet warmongers, declaring its strict neutrality toward European events. On the other hand, Argentina, which is a *de facto* colony of Britain, is carrying the ball for the anti-Sovieteers and pressing for expulsion of the USSR from the League of Nations. The League was put into receivership long ago by its British owners so as not to impede Hitler's thrust eastward. It has been miraculously declared solvent in order to sit in judgment on the only country that lived up to the League's alleged principles.

It requires no deep probing to discover the meaning of these events. "Speeches by British statesmen this week," cabled G. E. R. Gedye to the N. Y. *Times* from Moscow, "revealed efforts afoot to effect speedy peace between the Allies and Germany on almost any terms in order to switch the war to an attack on the Soviet Union, and it is known that the initiative for these efforts comes from Italy." This is what people like Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, and Hearst called for, weeks before the development of the Finnish crisis. An editorial in the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* of December 8 said plainly: "It is idle to suppose that we can save either Finland or civilization from Stalinism with moral indignation and a few pennies' worth of credits." No wonder Vaino Hakkila, speaker of the Finnish Diet, was able to broadcast the boast that "we believe the civilized world, which has given us testimony of its great sympathy, will not leave us to fight alone. . . ."

War against the workers' republic—this is where the Roosevelt policy is leading. In our undeclared war against socialist Russia more than twenty years ago, American workingmen struck against transporting war material, and American troops in Siberia mutinied. We have no doubt that a new anti-Soviet war would meet with even less sympathy despite Walter Lippmann's assurance that "There are not, I believe, many Americans who wish to practice a strict and impartial neutrality in this new phase of the war." By encouraging an anti-Soviet crusade the Roosevelt administration is actually flying in the face of the overwhelming peace sentiment of the country and betraying the deepest interests of the American people.

President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull, and every member of Congress should be reminded that the American people did not vote for the policies of Hoover, Hearst, and Wall Street. The fight for democracy begins at home.

Military Communique

AS A matter of principle, we take everything in the capitalist press with a barrel of salt. In domestic affairs, our experience tells us that fundamental class instincts register in every semicolon. How much more so when the socialist army advances: the army of a new world civilization which capitalism resists to the last line-o'-type. Herbert Hoover solicits the help of the press to collect funds for Finland, funds which will never reach the Finnish people. It seems obvious to us that the news columns cooperate to make this solicitation more effective. We don't credit the fancy tales of Finnish ski-jumpers slashing primitive knives at the underclothed Red soldiers. The torrid tripe about hundreds of frost-bitten dead leaves us perfectly cold. Here and there the truth trickles through. For example, Major Leonard Nason, of the US Army, told his radio audience last Friday that Soviet strategy had completely disproved the so-called weakening of the Red Army through the so-called purge. In his opinion, it was still the best army in Europe and the best staffed. Johannes Steele last Saturday decried the "bunk" about Russian setbacks. Fletcher Pratt in the New York *Post* and Major Fielding Eliot in the *Herald Tribune* caution against hasty conclusions.

The American press expected the Red Army to blitzkrieg. They failed to inform Voroshilov about it. He has simply refused to blitz and they are sore as the blazes. Military communiques are issued at Moscow daily. In its customary inscrutability, the Kremlin doesn't bother to say: American papers, please copy.

If the USSR so willed (if it were a military power along capitalist lines) it could release its airfleet, generally accorded to be the biggest in the world, and bomb Finnish resistance into smithereens any Arctic afternoon. But the Soviet does not fight *populations;* it is engaged in battle with Baron von Mannerheim and his native and foreign imperialist backers.

Through north-central Finland, the Red Army has advanced about forty miles at this writing, almost cutting Finland in half. At Rovaniemi, it will contact the world's northernmost highway and doubletrack back towards Petsamo. From Nurmes, they are slicing above the lake area along roads and railways toward Oulu at the Gulf of Bothnia. From Lake Ladoga they menace the Mannerheim line in a flanking movement. At the peninsula, they have broken through the line at the Taipale River and are clearing the way to Viborg. In central Finland, the communications run north to south. As the lakes freeze over, the traffic of men and tanks will be easier than in the wooded area off the Karelian border. On sea, the Red Fleet has blockaded the coast off the Gulf of Finland, although we do not know whether it has passed the mined area at the Aland islands and controls the Bothnian coast also. Although handicapped by weather, the airforce has hammered away at the Hangoe fortifications.

Military experts like General Yakhontoff (he has promised us a piece for next week), who know Finland from personal experience, consider Soviet strategy brilliant. A minimum of men are being used (Stalin called human beings the most valuable Soviet capital). The superiority over the Finns is no more than two-to-one; but the latter must spread their forces, the former have the initiative. Out in front the press tries to buffalo the public, giving the deliberate impression that the Red Army is just a pushover. In the back rooms the big boys are impressed. And worried.

Mr. Dewey's First Shot

THE man from Owosso went to Minneapolis the other night to make his opening bid for the Republican presidential nomination and ultimate election in 1940. The smoothly ghost-written speech of Thomas E. Dewey was resonant of phrase, but something less than luminous in content. Mr. Dewey is still dancing on a dime, still committed to nothing more specific than the manifest destiny of Thomas E. Dewey and the Republican Party of Hoover, Joe Pew, et al. Of President Roosevelt's approach to the unemployment problem he said: "He defined the issue but has failed to find the solution." But what is Dewey's solution? His only answer in this speech was to declare his undying faith in America and in that holy of holies, private enterprise. And he intimated that if big business were only given a free hand, all our troubles would vanish.

This is quackery—reactionary quackery. It is a rewrite of the clipsheets of the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. It is liberal in nothing but pretense and phrase.

Dewey of course labors the obvious when he charges that the Roosevelt administration has failed to solve the problems of mass unemployment and chronic misery on the farm. The New Deal's best efforts in the past add weight to the indictment of capitalism. Both the New Deal and its Republican opponents oppose the only realistic and permanent solu-

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tion of these difficulties, socialism. And both are today inciting hate against the only country where socialism has demonstrated the practical effectiveness of its solutions, the Soviet Union. Significantly enough, Dewey failed even to mention the overriding issue of our day, keeping America out of the imperialist war. According to a recent Gallup poll, this issue is now the chief concern of American voters. Is Dewey silent on this question because, like his party colleague Alf Landon, he agrees completely with the administration's warmongering, unneutral, anti-Soviet course?

As for domestic issues, the New Deal is now busy doing Dewey's work—attacking its own past program. The Department of Justice vendetta against civil liberties and Washington reports that the administration is preparing to retreat all along the line show how rapidly, under Wall Street pressure, the distinctions between the former New Deal and anti-New Deal camps are disappearing. The American people must look elsewhere for leadership in 1940.

Memo to Any Citizen

HEAP big muck-amucks of American industry met this week ten years after the heap big collapse of 1929. Production figures this month reached the level of ten years ago: the Federal Reserve Index hit the gong at 125.

But is everybody happy? Not the ten million unemployed. Not even all sections of American business. While the top of the heap cleans up, little men and the retail trade limp badly.

The war boom is almost as phony as the war. Even a war against the Soviet Union via Finland won't help. Meanwhile, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace made public a forecast of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics to the effect that decreases in the tonnage of farm produce exports were to be expected as the war continues. There'll be a slight price rise in farm products and perhaps income, largely speculative. The Allies are not buying farm goods in this country; Britain is tapping its own empire, especially Canada. Capitalism marches on.

Mr. Murphy and Mr. Dies

CROWDING Congressman Dies for laurels is U. S. Attorney General Murphy. What the gentleman from Texas does with fanfare and characteristic buffoonery, Mr. Murphy does quietly, efficiently, with as little noise as possible. His indictment mill is furiously grinding out those trumped-up passport charges against Communists. Earl Browder, William Wiener, Harry Gannes—and there are more, the avid commercial press is assured. Meanwhile Mr. Murphy's assistant, Thurman Arnold, is threatening the trade union movement with anti-trust laws. The attorney general praises Minnesota's anti-strike law.

And now, the NLRB and Wagner act are under fire. The New Deal is abandoning all its outposts for progress, and is rapidly reverting to a streamlined Palmer Red-raid program. Mr. Murphy however, wants the job done as quickly and quietly as possible, so as not to awaken maximum opposition from unions and progressives. Reaction is moving faster today than it did in the World War period. Capitalism is in a hurry. All workingmen and progressives must step on it if they wish to preserve any shreds of the Bill of Rights from the contemporary warmakers.

Hungry Ohio

CLEVELAND'S relief funds were about to give out this week when the City Council authorized the sale of $1,050,000 in tax delinquency notes to stave off final disaster for a few more weeks. President Roosevelt took a moment off from his negotiations for a $10,000,000 loan "for the relief of Finland" to O.K. one-eighth that sum for WPA projects in Cleveland. But the sixteen thousand Clevelanders who have been freezing and starving since November 15 did not cheer.

How much coal can they buy, how much food can they get for the 21 cents per day now granted them? And nothing has been done for the men and women and children of Toledo, Columbus, Lima, Youngstown, and Dayton, victimized by a relief crisis almost as sharp. Essential city services are slashed, relief investigators are fired, hospitals are overloaded, and the little business men see their business disappearing.

Fearful of a frank reporting of local conditions, the Ohio press buries the widespread desperation in the back pages, as it once hid the news of mass bank failures. But none of this fazes that stout Republican, Governor Bricker. "The relief situation in Ohio has largely been solved," he says. The governor and his political pals will balance that budget if it kills the last Ohioan.

Un-Americana

EVERY week there is an unpleasant hour in this office when the editors draw lots to see who will write the editorial on the Dies committee. The man who lost this week pleaded with the editors. "Let me off this job," he said, "and I'll sit up all night by John Wilkes Booth's grave so J. B. Matthews can't dig him up. They got Trotsky but they'll never get Booth."

"But," said an older member, "J. B. Matthews says there is a Red Onslaught on Advertising and they might try to take away our Zindorest Park ads. It stands to reason if Moscow orders the liquidation of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, our classifieds won't last long."

A hush fell on the editorial conference, for this was truly a journalistic crisis. We could imagine the consternation at the bigger papers, faced with the loss of all their Christmas advertising. Damned unsporting of those Reds to pull down the pillars on Santa Claus.

At then the office boy entered with the papers and we burst into spontaneous cheers as we saw the headlines. Sulzberger was fighting back; Roy Howard was thundering; the New York *Herald Tribune* printed the entire text of J. B. Matthews' report on the consumers' organizations, those despicable "transmission belts" that were leading the Onslaught on Advertising, the first step toward nationalizing Macy's salesgirls. American journalism was saved!

And saved, if you please, by J. B. Matthews, the scab of the 1935 Consumers Research strike.

Roundup

EVERY nine seconds a Danish pig is born to be killed for England. But the Danish market was cut out cold last week when Great Britain switched its order for ham and bacon to Canada. . . . King George and his queen will send each soldier of the BEF in France a personal Christmas card. . . . Thought: did it ever occur to Churchill and Chamberlain that one million British troops in France might easily quell a revolutionary movement of the working class of that country? . . . The Republican National Committee asked for 650 gifts of $1,000 each to clear up its debt preparatory to 1940. . . . The Soviet Union is exchanging 100,000 German inhabitants of Byelo Russia and the Ukraine for 800,000 brethren in former Poland, thus continuing the process of painlessly removing Germans who had formed the upper classes in Eastern Europe for centuries. . . . Isador Lubin, commissioner of labor statistics, said that prolongation of the war would bring price rises and a "period of painful economic readjustment." . . . Fulgencio Batista resigned as head of the Cuban Army to announce his candidacy for the Cuban presidency. The Communist Party is among many groups supporting him. . . . The Soviet government, Japan, and other nations protested the British counter-blockade upon German exports. . . . Ambassador to England Joseph Kennedy arrived by plane last week, to tell F.D.R. "some things it might not be wise to put in the cables." . . . On the so-called Finland bombings, the daily press was full of "alleged," "reported," "it is said" stories. The weekly magazines left out the "alleged" stuff, especially *Time*. Which is characteristic, since Robert Cantwell edits *Time's* foreign news section. Cantwell wrote "The Promise of American Journalism" essay in the recent anniversary edition of the *New Republic*. . . . Maury Maverick, San Antonio, Tex., mayor, was acquitted of poll tax conspiracy. . . . California sheriffs refused to turn over records to the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. . . . The British Stabilization Fund was a major factor in supporting Finnish currency last week. . . . The Communist Party of Spain made public a manifesto signed by Jose Diaz and Dolores Ibarruri, while Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard professor, reported people are being shot every day by Franco.

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Vincent Sheean, the Summer Soldier

The writer who saw the future in the Soviet Union and the present in Spain chooses Churchill and imperialism. From progress to reaction in one easy lesson.

But I was afflicted by a dichotomy that has never left me: I could not avoid trying to make the best of two worlds. (*Personal History,* page 21.)

VINCENT SHEEAN has finally resolved his dichotomy: he has chosen his world. In a series of three articles, two in the *New Republic* and one in the *Saturday Evening Post,* Mr. Sheean compounded his latter-day credo, replete with historic reference and Italian quotation. When you boil it down the writer simply said, "I choose Churchill."

In the liberal weekly Mr. Sheean transforms Stalin into Bonaparte: in the tory weekly his Churchill has become a man of "innate kindliness and humanity." In the *New Republic* Stalin has become "the mightiest of the czars"; in the *Satevepost* Churchill —organizer of the intervention against the Soviet Union in 1919—has become "a rounded man—in more senses than one—who enjoys life to the full and wishes to preserve its freedom and variety for his people." And in all three articles Vincent Sheean has become a composite of Eugene Lyons and Isaac Don Levine, with overtones of Sir Philip Gibbs.

The phenomenon of petty-bourgeois ideologue switching from progress to reaction in unseemly haste is nothing new. Every principal historical turn from the French Revolution on—through the barricaded days of 1848, the Paris Commune, Russia's 1905, the World War—has produced Sheeans aplenty. It is infinitely easier to stand for progress in relatively peaceful days. But when peace explodes into war, and when the uppermost classes fiercely block the avenues of expression, exert terrific social ostracism, championing progress is no easy task. It can become quite dangerous, in fact.

It is, of course, oversimplification to believe that these lightning transformations are necessarily due to immediate material considerations. Other factors figure. Class loyalties emerge, unconsciously to obscure, affect, and color political attitudes and deliberations. All sorts of social pressures operate; it is not alone the fear of poverty or even of imprisonment. The gods of today's world frown and the individual who stands for truth is sent to coventry, if not to jail. And coventry to some is harsher than Sing Sing.

Obscurity may displace fame; censure crowd out adulation. Personal influence may be truncated. Life spirals down from relative ease to the stern reality that a champion for truth in the world of imperialism at its showdown is a distinctly unpopular fellow with the powers that be. Compensation comes chiefly in the integration of the writer with his people, with the masses, whose victories must be his, whose tribulations his, whose fate his. It is truly the choice of two worlds —the people's or their oppressors'. Which? Mr. Sheean's dualism is not a phenomenon confined to himself alone.

Personal careers stand to suffer and, I may say, our personal historian is quite cognizant of that fact. Of course one cannot up and talk about these matters objectively. Such men inevitably put the best possible face to their actions, and they possess an infinite capacity to rationalize deeds they are ashamed of in the depths of their hearts. In these days they resolve their dichotomies. They choose the best of two worlds, according to their lights.

And so Mr. Sheean boned up on French history, scanned the outpourings of Trotsky and Stolberg, and presto, we have the *New Republic* series. That this particular writer abandoned, with a few strokes of his ready pen, the thesis that brought him prominence is of no great moment to history and in a short time he will be coldly forgotten. But since there are a considerable number of readers of *Personal History* and *Not Peace but a Sword* who have manifested puzzlement at such an abrupt metamorphosis, perhaps a few words on this case might be pertinent. (There will be other, similar instances; indeed, as this is written another writer, Ralph Bates, leaps from the train of history, as he himself puts it. We shall diagnose his variety of Vincent's Disease in a forthcoming issue.)

To return to Mr. Sheean. It is not what he *says,* in his *New Republic* pieces that puzzles many of his readers. His remarks constitute a long Hearstian editorial, completely unsubstantiated by fact or documentation, borrowed unceremoniously from the galaxy of professional anti-Sovieteers — Trotsky, Souvarine, Lyons. It is rather the fact that he, Vincent Sheean, could make these remarks when but a few days before he was writing favorably about the USSR. Was it not in his latest book, *Not Peace but a Sword,* that he wrote:

> **Upon the will and instinct of the proletariat reposes such hope as we are justified in retaining for the future progress of humanity through and beyond the conflict which now divides the world.**

How, then, can he suddenly abandon, overnight, his sympathetic attitude toward the land of workingmen? Stalin, he cries, Stalin, Stalin, Stalin. He claims that this is the first time he has ever mentioned Stalin in print. But as John Garnett points out in *Soviet Russia Today,* in May 1938 Mr. Sheean heard Dolores Ibarruri, "La Pasionaria," address the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Madrid. I happened to attend that session and I remember Mr. Sheean's abundant enthusiasm for Pasionaria's genius. He thrilled at her eloquence and afterward wrote of her speech as "careful, analytical, closely reasoned, the work of a trained political committee filtered through her own exceptional heart and brain." And Mr. Sheean appears to have forgotten that he wrote, too, that this remarkable address was interlarded with quotations "from nuestra camarada Stalin"—that monster who appears to have won Ibarruri's "exceptional heart and brain."

No, it is impossible to believe that Mr. Sheean has presented a principled argument. The *New Republic,* whose record in this is far from blameless, warned its readers that Mr. Sheean had no firsthand knowledge of the Soviet Union since 1927. But it is precisely the past dozen years of Soviet development with which he deals. Up to this time, he was always the personal historian who believed only what he himself saw. He took

"Light on Moscow"

"MILLIONS of people in Great Britain, not merely in the middle class but also among the workers, have been led to entertain the quaintest misconceptions about the USSR. It is not necessary for me to suggest that the Soviet Union is perfect, or that it has not made mistakes; I need only assert, and I can and do assert, that everyone who has really had the opportunity to investigate it must admit that in industry, agriculture, science, education, aviation, military strength, indeed in almost every branch of human activity, it has in two decades, in the face of almost unexampled difficulties, progressed to an extent which is probably without parallel in the history of the world.

"Our ruling class can see that, if they are to keep their position in a period of breakup and insecurity, it is vital that a picture of the USSR, *not as a land of remarkable progress,* but as an unsuccessful experiment should be continuously presented to the public, a picture which will prevent more than a few thousand of the working classes saying to themselves: 'If the backward workers of czarist Russia, after war, revolution, and famine, can do that much in twenty years, we can make an earthly paradise of Britain in half the time. . . .'"

—D. N. Pritt, English M.P. and prominent jurist, "Light on Moscow."

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no man's word for Spain, went there to see for himself; to Austria, to London. He was the reporter, the glamorous figure on the spot who got the story. But suddenly (in the midst of the Dies drive and the tumult for war in our regimented press) he saw from afar how things were going in the Soviet Union. And he rushed his visions into print—in embarrassing haste.

But Mr. Sheean provides the best key to his behavior. *Personal History* romantically tells the story of his resistance to the ideas of socialism. He admitted the socialist idea had merit, but then, after all, much was to be said for the capitalist scheme. (That old dichotomy.) His recent *Satevepost* article was not the first time he counterposed London to Moscow. Read page 275, in *Personal History:*

> I was angry and alarmed, on arriving in London, to discover that the old world of comfort, pleasure, taste, diversion, and amusement still powerfully appealed to me; that the misery of nine-tenths of the human race seemed dim and distant when considered from the midst of a well supplied bourgeois dining room; that the things a Bolshevik—a working Bolshevik—like Rayna or Borodin—had to give up were things I valued.

And later, on pages 277, 278:

> The questions England suggested were personal ones. They went something like this: Why should you, leading an externally agreeable life under the bourgeois system of society, try to do anything to change it? What does it matter to you if Chinese coolies starve to death, if boys go into the coal mines of Lancashire at the age of twelve, if girls in Germany die by the hundreds from tuberculosis and occupational diseases in the chemical factories? What do you care if the steel workers in Pennsylvania are maintained in conditions of life equivalent to slavery? Can't you forget about all that? You'll probably never starve: You can earn enough money with your silly little stories to lead a pleasant life; why not do so? You think revolution is inevitable—or say you do—and why not, then, leave it to other people, workmen, soldiers, Bolsheviks? It's their business, not yours; what have you got to do with it? Are you prepared to give up all the pleasures of modern Western culture, everything from good food and sexual liberty to Bach and Stravinsky, to work for the welfare of other people's grandchildren in a world you will never see?
>
> The answer was, decidedly, no. That was what England had done for me in the short space of twenty-one days.

And that is what England has done with our hero today. Hence, perhaps, Mr. Sheean's reluctance to mention a fact well known to all journalists in the postwar days, that Lord Churchill was the organizer of the ferocious intervention against the Soviet Union. For Churchill is the essence of Mr. Sheean's England; not the miners of Lancashire or the dockers of London.

Indeed, this is the nub of the whole business. The rest—fancy rationalization shot full of holes. His *New Republic* articles had not even the merit of originality and the professional anti-Sovieteers begrudge Sheean's arrival. He's muscling in on their territory. Ben Stolberg complained in the *Herald Tribune* the other day that Sheean stole the learned "Brumaire, Thermidor" terminology from him. But of course, Stolberg, as usual, is wrong again. Stolberg borrowed it from Trotsky who used the terms more than a decade ago. And the idea has been popular with all bourgeois historians who dearly love such phrases as "The revolution always eats its children." Since the terms crop up so often, it may be well to spend a moment on this falsity.

Mr. Sheean's argument in the *New Republic* is, in brief, that the Soviet Union is today at Brumaire (when Napoleon took power on behalf of the bourgeoisie); that it has already passed through Thermidor (the reversal of the revolutionary process). But our personal historian, the disciple of Lord Acton (God knows, not of Karl Marx) finds the analogies appealingly colorful and gets himself into a vital contradiction that reflects upon his whole discussion.

If the Soviet Union had passed through Thermidor, then it should be reverting to capitalism. Right? But Sheean himself admits in his first article in the *New Republic* that "industrialization and collectivization are, in actual fact, the achievements of the Soviet regime. . . . " He cannot deny these stubborn (and world-shaking) facts. Now, how industrialization and collectivization—the fundamentals of the socialist state—can be achieved while the Soviet Union slips back to capitalism is a contradiction that not even Lord Acton could explain.

It is the same old mechanical and erroneous analogy: that the Bolsheviks are repeating the revolution of the eighteenth century, that the Russian Revolution will conclude as did the French Revolution. Several slight differences are overlooked by such "historians." One, that the French Revolution occurred before the era of machinery, when no industrial proletariat existed; another, the Russian Revolution began in the period of capitalistic decline, when the industrial proletariat was the leader of the revolution and carried through the fight for socialism. Mr. Sheean's argument that Thermidor has come carries with it the conclusion that capitalism will triumph within Russia. But then he must deny the Marxist characterization of the present age as the epoch of capitalist decline and he must deny, too, the proletarian character of the Russian Revolution. In *Not Peace but a Sword,* he submits a vivid account of capitalism in violent decline. Up to the day before yesterday he attested to the proletarian character of the Russian Revolution. But then, perhaps, the disciple of Lord Acton—and Lord Churchill—need not bother overmuch with these contradictions.

Another exhibit of Mr. Sheean's "facts": *"Nor is it necessary,"* he wrote in the *New Republic, "to enforce agrarian collectivization in a way which brings about the death of six million people from starvation."*

How that lie has limped its way around the capitalist and Trotskyist press! One may ask our personal historian, how many of the six million did he count? Where did he get his facts? Well, let us take a couple of other historians, perhaps less personal than Mr. Sheean—those old Fabian socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb. On page 259, in the first volume of their monumental work, *Soviet Communism,* we find the question posed:

> Was there or was there not a famine in the USSR in the years 1931 and 1932?
>
> Those who think this a simple question will probably already have made up their minds, in accordance with nearly all the statements by persons hostile to Soviet Communism, that there was, of course, a famine in the USSR; and they do not

To Arm You for This Time

Persist so; tell and retell
This time's imperative.
And say farewell
To the dear face of those who wish
to die.
Let those who are dying now
Die quickly.
Either die
Or will to renew—
(So to find, to attain a treble will,
The mature, the resolute, the unshaken
Heart)—Renew
At the source.
Go to the source and return.
Go, go quickly.
Hurry. We are in
Battle. Drop
The life personal, dry pod
Colored once, now drab, ready to split
To scatter seed.
Work to infuse
The imperfect, the moribund
With energy and delight. Go.
Rouse. Energy calls forth
Energy. Remember the teacher
Who worked to prepare
To cleanse, to remake, to arm
You for this time.
But if you persist in dying, die
Quickly. No sluggards now
For death and life both alternate hold
The new, the arriving
Change. This planet wakes, it stirs,
It is busy. Make room
For the enormous
New. Daily
The sun pours about the head and
shoulders
The expanding dawn,
The enduring
Light.

GENEVIEVE TAGGARD.

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hesitate to state the mortality that it caused, in precise figures—unknown to any statistician—varying from three to six and even to ten million deaths.

Then there is this footnote:

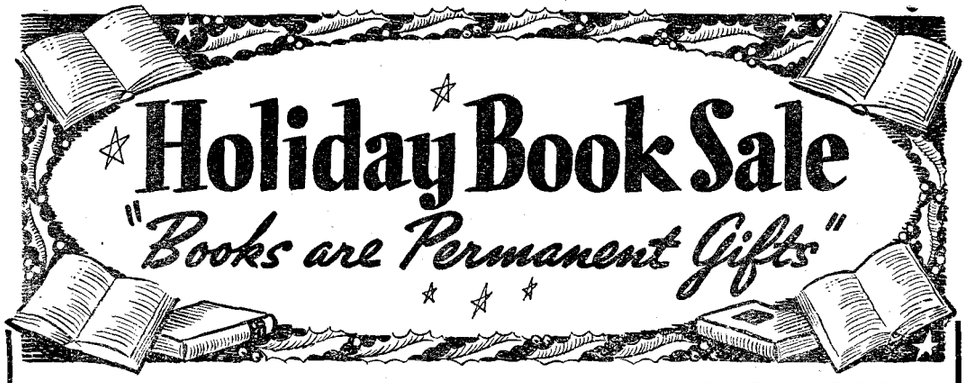
Skepticism as to statistics of total deaths from starvation in a territory extending to one-sixth of the earth's surface, would anyhow be justified. Now, as to the USSR there seems to be no limit to the wildness of exaggeration. We quote the following interesting case related by Mr. Sherwood Eddy, an experienced American traveler in Russia: "Our party, consisting of about twenty persons, while passing through the villages, heard rumors of the village of Gavrilovka, where all the men but one were said to have died of starvation. We went at once to investigate and track down this rumor. We divided into four parties with four interpreters of our own choosing, and visited simultaneously the registry office of births and deaths, the village priest, the local soviet, the judge, the schoolmaster, and every individual peasant we met. We found that out of eleven hundred families three individuals had died of typhus. They had immediately closed the school and church, inoculated the entire population, and stamped out the epidemic without developing another case. We could not discover a single death from hunger and starvation, though many had felt the bitter pinch of want. It was another instance of the ease with which wild rumors spread concerning Russia." *(Russia Today: What Can We Learn From It?* by Sherwood Eddy, 1934, page 14.)

It is fruitless to spike every lie that Sheean has reiterated and refurbished in his two *New Republic* pieces. That has been done time and again. (Mr. Garnett does a fine job in the current issue of *Soviet Russia Today* on Sheean's libel on Pavlov.) We have neither the space nor the patience to do it once more. What we wish to draw attention to, in this article, is the fact that in days like these, certain intellectuals get off that historic train at the nearest station.

In other words, they fear the onerous responsibilities of battling for truth at a time when prison—and not fat royalties—may be their reward. It would be risky for Mr. Sheean to hold to his argument that "upon the will and instinct of the proletariat" rests the future. To do so today means he would run afoul of Dies—and yes, of Franklin D. Roosevelt. So Mr. Sheean sat down and wrote a few pieces for the record.

Well, Mr. Sheean has chosen. Where formerly he wrote sympathetically of the titanic strivings of the Soviet people and their million-fold admirers throughout the world, today he glorifies Churchill. You recall how glowingly he wrote of the International Brigade boys in *Not Peace but a Sword*. Here is how they feel about him now. Fred Keller, one of the best known veterans, put his reactions to me succinctly: "Mr. Sheean knows what we veterans think of deserters. Once we knew in Spain that Mr. Sheean thought a lot more of Negrin than he did of Churchill. I am sorry Mr. Sheean joined up with Dies, Krivitsky, and the rest."

Our personal historian wrote effectively of Churchill's "terrible wit." In fact, he con-



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cluded his article in the *Satevepost* with a little anecdote. It runs like this:

Last winter, in the south of France, having dined not wisely but too well, I smashed up a car on the way home and awoke the next day contrite in spirit and eager to return to Paris. Mr. Churchill heard the news from my wife and gave her some advice to pass on to me.

Among other things, he said: "Tell him that if he intended to remain until Monday he should remain until Monday. He ought never to run away from anything—never."

But Sheean ran.

JOSEPH NORTH.

Gorky's Humanism

CULTURE AND THE PEOPLE, *by Maxim Gorky. International Publishers. $1.50.*

THIS book is a selection from Gorky's essays written during the eight years between 1927 and 1935. It makes clear the role that Gorky had come to have in the last years of his life. As a writer of world rank who had uncompromisingly chosen the new socialist society, and who had been entrusted by it, by both official and unofficial sanctions, to organize and direct its cultural forces, Gorky stood as the representative and spokesman of Soviet culture.

Both the new and the old worlds accepted him as such. It was to him that workers, revolutionists, and ardent young Soviet intellectuals wrote for advice, to recount experiences, or to communicate their sense of achievement and the exhilaration of the new life. And it was to him that the White Guard, emigre writers abroad, and anonymous malcontents, the unreconciled survivors of the past at home, addressed their vituperations.

Most of the essays in this book are in the form of public replies to these communications. They have not only the warmth and vigor characteristic of Gorky in all his writing but the intimate directness of replies to letters that evoke a strong reaction. Gorky writes now as advocate, now as accuser: advocate of the new socialist system that has recognized the human being as the most precious capital of the country, and his welfare as the test of all activities sponsored or tolerated by the new society; accuser of the encircling capitalist system which remains unreconciled to the simultaneous existence on earth of socialism and seeks, now by open attack, now by conspiracy, to destroy it.

The essence of Gorky's ideas, which elevate him to the position of one of the great world humanists, is that mankind can and must direct its energies, not in mutually destructive competition for mastery of one nation over another, one class over another, one man over another; but in a cooperative mobilization of human energies and talents over the whole earth for mastery over nature.

This is presented not as a "moral equivalent" for war, in the Jamesian sense. War, competition, exploitation are not innate drives of mankind, but rather misdirections of human energy. The cooperative society is human destiny; through system after system man has steadily reached toward it; and it has become a steadily brightening goal illuminated by the thought of the succeeding ages. Man's store of culture, enriched by each generation, goes more and more into the service of all and serves as the arsenal for the conquest of nature; which is newly, more powerfully equipped by every scientific discovery and every refinement of technique. This great human drive has reached the stage of conscious organization in the first socialist society.

Opposed to this drive, naturally, are all those who gain by continuing the imperialist exploitation of peoples and the economic exploitation of the workers of their own countries. But these include peripheral groups whose interests are not so clear.

They include the "reconcilers of the irreconcilable," those who stand in the middle, whose security and importance lie in social peace, who continue in peacemaking mediation between the oppressors and the oppressed, changing their tune with changing circumstances, even wearing the liberty cap and the *sans culottes* on occasion but cherishing their middle position with its relative superiority and privileges quite as much as the capitalists, and in crises defending it with every resource they can muster.

Finally its enemies are all those who desert the struggle, and, in the names of many variegated philosophies of defeatism, call for retreat and submission; the tired and frightened who give fancy names to lack of stamina, and to fear—the pessimists, cynics, spiritualists, Spenglerists, retreaters into solitude, awaiters of death to release them from responsibilities of living, who all have a hysterical need to justify themselves, to become generals in their desertion and give the order to retreat.

In sum everything that exploits man, that hinders his conquest of nature, that works for his demoralization by philosophies undermining his self-respect and his confidence in his capacity to achieve the conquest, is attacked with majestic eloquence. The same eloquence is used in reciting the achievements of socialism. A great heart and a great mind speak in this book in pride and affection for humanity.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Proletarian Novel

WASTE HERITAGE, *by Irene Baird. Random House. $2.50.*

IT IS the distinct achievement of our new proletarian fiction, like Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath,* that these novels force the reader for the time being to think and live as though he belonged in the class of the submerged. Accuracy and abundance of detail, both in describing external events and through the racy lingo of popular speech, clarifying the springs of action among the underprivileged, have made possible this identification of the reader.

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Miss Baird's *Waste Heritage* is a case in point. She has studied the organized unemployed of the western Canadian seaboard as though she were her own character, the school teacher without a job, taking notes among them. But unlike him she has succeeded in transforming her information into a novel.

When the unemployed gather to march upon the provincial capital, what may happen is clear enough in the abstract. The respectable classes hesitate, inclined to regard the marchers as bums who prefer a handout to honest labor. But they can be made to see that these men are only unfortunate and deserving of relief. What will determine the attitude is in large part the way the marchers conduct themselves. Acts of violence are fatal to sympathy. Only if discipline is maintained by a voluntary democracy of organization under the leadership of those most trusted for their foresight and integrity, will mass pressure receive the reinforcement of public opinion.

Miss Baird clarifies these generalizations in the intimate terms of human situations by the choice of a hero who needs to learn their validity. Matt is a man who sees red when he sees a cop. As the procession of unemployed makes its way from the more hospitable coastal towns to the stolid British hostility of the capital, Matt is caught between two forces that pull him in different directions: Hep, the organizer, and Eddy, his pal. The relationship between Matt and the organizer is superbly done, and through it, of course, the social meaning of the novel is principally conveyed. Matt and Hep go with a truck to solicit food from neighboring farms. After one farmer has given them a surly refusal, they are arrested on the charge of vagrancy. But Hep keeps his temper and Matt's too.

Unfortunately Matt's pal, Eddy, is more often at his elbow. And Eddy is reminiscent of the moron in *Of Mice and Men*. If the friendship of Matt and Eddy is not a repetition of Steinbeck's theme, it is that Miss Baird has sensed, though none too clearly, a fundamental difference in the relationship. Matt, in her novel, is unconsciously using Eddy as an excuse for getting into trouble himself under the guise of keeping Eddy out of it. But this intriguing conception remains undeveloped. It is lost in the flow of events, descriptions of hunger marchers housed in an abandoned firetrap, sleeping in the park, soliciting funds on the street corners, so that, when rain and restlessness have caused the long march to end in failure, this theme emerges rather startlingly to form the conclusion of the book. Matt strikes a cop and is arrested while Eddy, sensing that he has been to blame, blindly stumbles to his death before a train. It is altogether too clever an ending, but it can scarcely obscure the long and vivid and never meretricious account of the hundreds of marching men that forms the substance of the novel.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM.

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Arms and the Man

WARFARE: THE RELATION OF WAR TO SOCIETY, *by Ludwig Renn. Oxford University Press. $2.50.*

When the manuscript of Ludwig Renn's book went to the publishers, collective security was still a possibility. He writes of the "great democracies" and of a France where "all parties are in agreement on at least one point, the necessity of defending their country against its only enemies, the fascists."

Today France, with prisons and concentration camps almost as crowded as those of Germany, can hardly be called a democracy. Yet the swiftly and violently changing course of events has only emphasized the soundness of the political thinking that underlies Renn's book. For "the development of similarity between opponents . . . always leads to indecision in the conduct of warfare." They are "fighting, so to speak, amongst friends" and neither wishes to do the other any serious harm. Dissimilarity of opponents, on the other hand, leads to "absolute war," as is shown in many examples, from the Peasant War in Germany to Ethiopia, China, and Spain.

In his survey of the technique of warfare, Renn is constantly concerned with the real causes of change and development. He shows that the development of armaments comes not from the fine fancies of kings and generals, but springs from the economic position and resources of the period. He shows that class relationships powerfully influence everything about the conduct of a war. Soldiers whose loyalty cannot be trusted, for instance, must be maneuvered in special ways. The British, in the American Revolution, were forced to keep their troops in close order formation. Hitler dares not drop parachute troops far behind an enemy's lines.

On these and other points, Renn draws liberally from his own experiences in the World War and in Spain. Thus the generalizations inevitable in such a book are always alive and filled with movement. On the theory and practice of the breakthrough he gives us Ludendorff in March 1918, University City in 1936, and the Brunete offensive in 1937. Trench warfare, tanks, guerrilla fighting, leaflet and sound truck propaganda—all are given concrete treatment. There is an interesting and almost pioneer attempt to treat, in the same manner, the "Strategy and Tactics of Naval Warfare."

The book is a short one and covers a vast territory. The reader finds himself constantly regretting the impossibility of fuller treatment. For this reason one could wish that the author had provided, from his wide knowledge of military history, a short and elementary bibliography. Many will wish to venture farther afield, guided by the clear and sensible principles here laid down.

In these days, when every home has its armchair general, Mr. Renn's book should find a host of readers. It will provide them with an excellent guide. Mr. Renn's historical survey of military tactics is admirably concise and illuminating. Even more important is his constant reminder that armies are not what they appear on the parade ground. He discusses raw material and economic planning—referring to the peculiar advantages of the Red Army in these and other respects. He deals with war aims and the political education of armies and peoples.

This is, in fact, perhaps the first book of its kind that properly emphasizes the question of morale. Renn discloses still additional military handicaps suffered by the Spanish republic. Yet almost all military theoreticians, starting with November 1936, were predicting collapse from month to month. Though he writes always soberly and with reserve, Renn knows, and he makes sure that his reader remembers, that "free men make better soldiers than slaves." DAVID MCKELVY WHITE.

Jeff Davis' Cabinet

STATESMEN OF THE LOST CAUSE, *by Burton J. Hendrick. Little, Brown & Co. $3.75.*

Margaret Mitchell will not like this book. According to Mr. Hendrick, the Confederacy fell largely because its civil leaders were not "the superior breed of Virginians" that had dominated the old South. Of plebeian origin, they represented the forces which really made the Civil War—the land-grabbing, adventurous, *nouveaux riches* planters of the newer Southern states. While Jefferson Davis' Cabinet bungled and quarreled at home, and their diplomats made themselves ridiculous abroad, Sherman marched in. His way was made easier by Govs. Joseph E. Brown of Georgia and Zebulon Vance of North Carolina, representing the hill folk and slaveless farmers of their states, who fought Confederate conscription with a passion that delighted the North.

The author's snobbish explanation of bad leadership does not stand up in his own accounts of individual Cabinet members: the ablest, Judah P. Benjamin, was the son of a dried-fish shopkeeper; Postmaster General Reagan, formerly an overseer, ran his department with singular efficiency. Mr. Hendrick himself seems to abandon his original thesis in later chapters: internal dissension becomes the main factor in Dixie's defeat. Advocates of state sovereignty resented the Confederate government's central control and crippled it as much as possible. More important, the Southern masses had little sympathy with the slaveholders' war. Two-thirds of Hood's army deserted, many crossing into Union lines; desertion or refusal to take up arms was common throughout the South.

In England, France, and particularly Mexico, the Confederacy logically courted as allies the most aggressive anti-democratic elements. Hendrick tells the full story of its shameless bargaining and why it failed. The diplomats were inept, the peoples of foreign countries hated the slave system, and their rulers preferred to be on the winning side. The value of this book is that it dusts from the Lost Cause any glamour that hasn't already gone with the wind of reality. B. G.

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Hamlet at Length

Margaret Webster and Maurice Evans restore the "extraneous" scenes to make a new "Hamlet" at the Forty-fourth Street Theater.

WE NEVER can get enough of Shakespeare, so the Maurice Evans full-length *Hamlet* at the Forty-fourth Street Theater is a must. Here is the play as it was originally written and produced—it runs for four hours and you will not mind that at all. Those who have never seen the uncut version performed will find it intensely interesting, if only because they will probably agree that the editors of the various acting-versions were right: there is much extraneous matter, "and less art," in many of the scenes not usually presented, and they serve to halt the action of the drama. But the presentation of these scenes to the theatergoer is a distinct service to those who have read the play.

Miss Margaret Webster's direction of the Evans production is about the most interesting aspect of the whole. In many ways her interpretation is the routine American Shakespeare, but she has invented many revealing pieces of stage business, and has supplied varieties of reading that are generally valid and cast much illumination on the text. Some of these interpretations and readings may be questionable—for every man is his own director of Shakespeare, and has made up his mind in advance how many of the more obscure passages and sidelights on the Danish prince's spiritual struggle should be interpreted by the actor. The sets and costuming by David Ffolkes, while conventional for the most part, are bright and pleasing to the eye.

About Mr. Maurice Evans himself, there may be serious divergences of opinion. Much uncritical enthusiasm has been displayed by some of the daily reviewers, but it may generally be agreed that his prince is intelligent and masculine, his diction generally fine. There are those who do not care for the declamatory school of Shakespeare (and I am one), who feel that our poet can be acted and *should* be acted rather than declaimed. Even though there can be no doubt that his lines *were* declaimed in his own times, it is equally true that Hamlet is an acting-part as well as a man who speaks in the mightiest verse our language has produced.

Mr. Evans and the entire cast of his production lean to declamation. In the case of the star himself, this leads to a prolixity of gesture that has no organic roots in the characterization, but is supplied externally. Many of these gestures are likely to be considered offensive; many of the poses just so much posing. Mr. Evans has a trick of gazing into eternity and seeming to be listening for his lines—which trick may be either consciously determined by him, or the inevitable expression of his physiognomy and his physique. It adds nothing to his characterization, which did not convince this reviewer that he was either a prince or a man in the throes of a struggle that is universal and timeless—the contemplative man impotent to act. In short, I felt that his understanding of the part was mechanical and routine, rather than imaginative, growing and profound. There was little shading; there were no observable transitions of mood or temper; the cries of anguish that Hamlet utters upon sight of his ghostly father and during his more emotional scenes with Ophelia seemed to me to issue from Mr. Evans' lips rather than from the heart of a tormented man. Other reviewers, other theatergoers will disagree.

But all who love their Shakespeare will pay a visit to the Forty-fourth Street Theater before the limited engagement closes. The prices are reasonable.

"MORNING'S AT SEVEN"

Paul Osborn's new play about the tribulations of late middle-age smalltown life is rather on the thin side, but it has many moments of genuine comedy and some perfect performances to recommend it. (Not to mention a perfectly stunning set of two smalltown houses, by Jo Mielziner.)

The watered-down nature of the plot material apparently stems from the fact that Mr. Osborn had his people in mind before he had an idea of what he wanted to say about them. Nor has he exactly made up his mind. In close proximity live the families of the Swansons—Theodore and his wife Cora and her sister Arry; and the Boltons, Carl, his wife Ida, his son Homer. Down the block are David Crampton and his wife Esther. Ida, Esther, Cora, and Arry are sisters. Their days and years are strictly circumscribed by the "meaninglessness" of smalltown life, and it is a big event when the forty-year-old son, Homer, brings his prospective bride, Myrtle, to meet his parents. They have been engaged for six or seven years.

Around this small situation the play revolves; plus the crotchety humors of David Crampton, who has decided to live on a different floor from his wife; Carl Bolton, who considers himself a failure; Cora, who has been scheming for forty years to "live alone"

HAMLET AND THE QUEEN: *Maurice Evans with Mady Christians as Gertrude, queen of Denmark, in the full length "Hamlet."*

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with her husband, be rid of sister Arry. The best of Mr. Osborn is close to the best of Sinclair Lewis, in his acute reportorial ear for these people's petty concerns, their language, their unconscious humor. There are occasional overtones of a common, deeper humanity, but the playwright was hard put to spread his material, or to achieve any real penetration of these people's lives. What he has achieved, with the assistance of brilliant performances by Russell Collins (Carl), Enid Markey (Myrtle), Jean Adair (Cora), and Dorothy Gish (Arry), is a very pleasant comedy, that sags at times but is generally diverting, homely and humanly absurd.

ALVAH BESSIE.

The Movies

Elizabeth and Errol, and Bottle Neck.

BETTE DAVIS' new vehicle, *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex,* is completely static, despite good technicolor and the usual arresting performance by Hollywood's first actress. Errol Flynn is Essex; and the original Lord Essex could have had no more trouble with the queen and Tyrone than Mr. Flynn has with blank verse. He understands not a line of it but smiles through bravely, like a radio announcer suddenly placed on a Sunday hour with the virgin queen and doing his damnedest to get a Crosley rating. Donald Crisp as Bacon plays his lines safe, even with subtlety, but the rest is just pageant; a scared bunch of actors and extras dressed up in embarrassing tights.

Miss Davis is like a creature made of springs; she will draw herself tight, set off a sharp line, and the springs will begin to quiver. Her head will bob and her arms shoot about like a doll until the vibrations die down. Sometimes this superb mechanical tension is allowed to substitute for interpretation, but, on the whole, she knows what she is doing.

The fashionable theory that history is made in bed dominates the story. Surely Essex could not have raised a rebellious army on the platform that the queen wasn't writing to him often enough; but that is the reason given in *Elizabeth and Essex.* The queen talks often of her love for England and her wisdom in government but we are spared the ugly details of how she governed.

HELL BUSTS LOOSE IN BOTTLE NECK

Screenwriting on the Universal lot seems to be a harrowing task. You are given Marlene Dietrich, James Stewart, Mischa Auer, Charles Winninger, Brian Donlevy, Una Merkel, Allen Jenkins, Warren Hymer, and Billy Gilbert; persons wide enough in their familiar specialties to extend from stuttering waiters to glamorous international spies. How to make a picture that gives each of them a chance to do his stunt was the problem. The Old West naturally became the setting and

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Friday, December 15, MIKE GOLD—Casa D'Amour, Mermaid Avenue & 31st Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Saturday, December 16, A. B. MAGIL—Royal Hospital Club, 2017 Grand Concourse, Bronx, N. Y.
Sunday, December 17, JAMES DUGAN—Flatbush Marxist Forum, 1112 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., 8:00 P.M. Topic: MOVIES IN WARTIME.
Sunday, December 17, A. B. MAGIL—66 Fifth Avenue—Social Dance Group, Auspices IWO, 8:45 P.M.
Sunday, December 17, JOSEPH NORTH—4614 Queens Blvd., Sunnyside, Long Island, 8:30 P.M. Topic: FINNISH SITUATION.

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GOINGS ON

A. B. MAGIL, editor NEW MASSES, answers Vincent Sheean, H. N. Brailsford, Louis Fischer, Harold Laski, and others, in a lecture: "THE LIBERALS AND THE WAR-MAKERS." SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 2:30 P.M. Victoria Room, Irving Plaza, 15th St. & Irving Pl. Auspices Workers School. Admission 25 cents.

ALFRED GOLDSTEIN, popular political analyst, discusses the week's news, Sunday, December 17th, 8:30 P.M. Auspices Workers School, 35 East 12 Street, second floor. Admission 20 cents.

DON'T CELIBATE—CELEBRATE XMAS EVE with MIKE GOLD, DEL. GROPPER, FRED ELLIS, SENDER GARLIN—TAC Show—DANCERS. SATURDAY EVE, DEC. 23, at Bill Maton's Studio, 127 Columbus Ave. (B'way & 65th St.). BUFFET SUPPER, DANCING, GAMES. Adm. 49c.

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FOLLOWERS OF THE TRAIL
ANNUAL DANCE

a way was found to make a Russian cowboy out of Mischa Auer, and rustlers out of Warren Hymer and Allen Jenkins. To picture Brian Donlevy as anything but a saloonkeeper would be unthinkable, so the action takes place in the Last Chance Saloon (shades of Johnny Heinold's place in Oakland) and Miss Dietrich becomes a frontier cabaret singer.

James Stewart is the boyish deputy sheriff who cleans up rough Bottle Neck, assisted by the various specialty artists and the only piece of acting in the film—a very original portrayal of the easy-going mayor of Bottle Neck by Samuel S. Hinds. Taking this triumph of a script, the Austrian refugee director, Joe Pasternak, knocks it off with a gusto, but cannot make up his mind whether the picture is a gag or serious. Serious it turns out to be, thereby spoiling much of the fun. *Destry Rides Again* is jolly entertainment except for the feeble moral ending.

JAMES DUGAN.

Rockefeller Jive

Louis Armstrong and Will Shakespeare in the Jim Crow car.

ONCE in *Swingin' the Dream,* Louis Armstrong comes out to the footlights alone, dressed as a fireman and wearing a headpiece that suggests a skunk. He hefts his golden horn and blows some throaty notes, but Kid Ory isn't behind him and Lil Armstrong isn't playing piano. Instead a commercial musical-saw orchestra is grinding it out in the pit and even Louis can't lick them. He stands there like a trouper and does his chore, with the plumes of the skunk down over his eyes, and not a soul in the theater knows that a great American art is being mocked. *Swingin' the Dream* was an inevitable theatrical idea—the last hangover of the minstrel show and the Carl Van Vechten period of Negro music. *O, those quaint darkies are sure hep to that jive; why don't we make a play out of it?* The chauvinism of *Swingin' the Dream* is the Northern type which has attended the discovery of jazz by white people. The ignoramuses who devised this show in the name of Shakespeare and jazz have made its Negro performers the clowns, have given dignity to the insipid white characterizations. The Louis Armstrong of "Pratt City Blues" and "West End Blues" stands on the stage of the Center Theater and plays a Tin Pan Alley tune called "Darn That Dream."

Benny Goodman's superlative sextet, half white, half Negro, becomes the only genuine thing in the show, because Benny hates phony showmanship and the band merely comes over from the Waldorf and plays. Bud Freeman's Summa Cum Laudes with Zutty Singleton drumming are relegated to the intermissions like the Altoona High School band playing for poppa and momma between halves of the Johnstown game. The audience goes out for a smoke while Maxie Kaminsky is playing the

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best lead trumpet since Tommy Ladnier died.

The music is fiercely bad because it has been written by composers, instead of coming from the players as jazz does. The only presentable commercial tune, "Darn That Dream," is plugged a dozen times so that the audience will be sure to be humming it when they leave the theater.

NOT ENOUGH ARMSTRONG

I like the idea of putting Louis Armstrong to work on Shakespeare, but there are fifteen directors and clumsy cute writers between Louis and the material, and, incredible as it may seem, the show opened without a single place for Louis to play. At the end of the first week he has won several solos and the entire last scene has come to consist of six or seven numbers by the Goodman sextet. If the show runs a month maybe Louis and Benny will have chased the troop of bungling *regisseurs* out of the thing altogether.

The last act shows the size of the chasm Erik Charell and company have dug between real jazz and the audience. The entire company is on stage in the old plantation scene and the Goodman boys are playing in a box. When they begin "Stompin' at the Savoy," the happy people on the stage start clapping out offbeats in perfect unison, joined by a few intoxicated souls in the audience who manage to clap in every wrong tempo possible. The crowd subsides in embarrassment. Afterward they applaud politely and walk out of the theater humming "Darn That Dream."

Shakespeare is dead and can't ask for his pass back or cancel his subscription to the *Times,* but he had a word for it: "What age hath ever heard such monstrous deeds!"

Time has worked its wonders since the above choleric words were written; *Swingin' the Dream* has swung itself to sleep. For one-tenth of the money lost on this venture a musical film could be made about jazz, a movie that would present the real thing and the real people who make jazz. Now the dough will be scared off.

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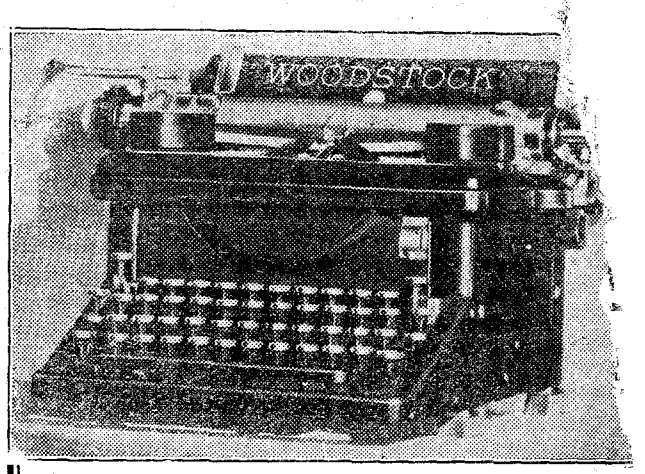

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